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ROMANIANS PLAY DOWN PARTICIPATION IN 'SHIELD-84'

AU061853 Vienna Television Service in German 1730 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Excerpt] Large-scale maneuvers of Warsaw Pact troops are now being held in the CSSR. Time and again it is mentioned that Romanian soldiers are participating in this maneuver in greater numbers than before. The Romanian Embassy in Vienna, however, informed Austrian Radio and Television Service that, as previously, only staff officers are participating in the maneuvers. Reports have also been refuted according to which this past March, Soviet troops participated in maneuvers of the Romanian Army on the Black Sea. Both these reports would imply a very drastic change in the role of Romania within the Warsaw Pact.

CEMA-NICARAGUAN MEETING ENDS, PROTOCOL SIGNED

AU061359 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] On 6 September in Plovdiv, the first session of the Joint Commission on CEMA-Nicaraguan Economic Cooperation ended with the signing of a protocol. The state and prospects of the economic cooperation between CEMA and Nicaragua were discussed at the session, and the concrete areas of this cooperation were outlined. The joint commission adopted a plan for 1984-85.

CEMA-AUSTRIAN TRADE FOR JAN-JUN REPORTED

For an Editorial Report on the 31 August Vienna DIE PRESS article on CEMA-Austrian trade in the first half of 1984, see the Austria section of the 7 September Western Europe DAILY REPORT.

HOXHA MESSAGE READ AT PARTISAN COMMEMORATION

AU031639 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 3 Sep 84

[Excerpts] Tirana, September 3 (ATA) -- The inhabitants of the zone Theollogo, which keeps the symbolic name "Partizani", together with thousands of working people and cooperativists, that had come from Konispol and the coastal zones, Rrezoma and Vrina, from Saranda and Delvina celebrated yesterday the 40th anniversary of the creation of the 19th Shock Brigade.

A lapidary was erected and inaugurated at the place where 40 years ago the brigade was created, thus perpetrating this historic event.

The former partisans gathered at the center of the village Cerkovice. A grand popular rally was organised there. Present were thousands of people, veterans, members and relatives of the martyrs families, militarymen, young men and women, etc.

Attending were also the member of the Central Committee of the party, Haxhi Lleshi, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the District Peoples Council, Stefan Qirjako and leading cadres of the party and power organs of the districts of Gjirokastra, Tepelena and Permet.

The rally was opened by the first secretary of the district party committee, Qemal Bregasi.

Amidst the revolutionary enthusiasm, Comrade Haxhi Lleshi read out the greeting of the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha addressed to the former partisans and cadres of the 19th shock brigade on occasion of the 40th anniversary of its creation.

40 years have elapsed from August 30, 1944, the greeting says among the other things, but the event of this day, the formation of the 19th Shock Brigade, will remain unforgettable for you, for the peasants of Theollogo and all the brave, freedom loving and industrious people of Saranda.

Being convinced in the correctness of the cause it was fighting for, with firm confidence in the victory over the enemies and traitors, the effective [as received] of the 19th Shock Brigade, educated and led with maturity by the communists and cadres, pitched from battle to battle. Your brigade together with the forces of the 14th Shock Brigade liberated the cities of Gjirokastra, Saranda and Delvina. It cleared the district of Saranda of the German-Ballist forces and the gangs of Zerva and showed to the Army of Zerva and the Anglo-Americans that the people had become masters of Albania and anyone, who would dare violate its teritory before laying foot, would die.

The party called on the whole people to pitch into struggle against the occupiers and traitors for a free and democratic Albania, therefore, just as everywhere, in the district of Saranda too, young and old, Albanians and people of minority rose on foot. Hundreds of people of Greek minority were lined in the ranks of the 19th Shock Brigade. They fought heroically side by side their Albanian brothers against the common enemies, the Nazi-Fascists, Ballists and Zervists. In the great national liberation war, in the sacrifices and the blood shed in the heat of battles, there was fostered and forged the steel unity between the Albanians and the people of minority, the force of which is manifested every day in Socialist Albania.

In these 40 years of freedom, the greeting says further on, the people, under the leadership of the party, have carried out colosal transformations. In order to leave us without bread and iron once, the revisionist enemies proposed us to plant only citrus trees and olives, while we set up not only Ksamil and Lukova, but also Vrina, Plasa, Dajc [prominent cooperatives] just as the big hydropower stations that provide light to all the homeland, and other magnificant works that have improved the life of our people. We will further with the successes and victories we have achieved through work and mobilization and will defend them with blood if need be.

The greeting was listened to attentively and was welcomed with enthusiastic applauses and cheers for our glorious party of labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The victories we have scored in all the fields have their base in the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the party, they are a result of the steel-like unity of the people round the party, of the self-sacrificing work of the people.

Comrade Hiaxhi Lleshi's speech was frequently punctuated by powerful applauses and acclamations for the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE REPORTS FOR JAN-AUG 1984

AU061924 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian, in its broadcasts between 1 August and 6 September 1984, carried the following economic performance reports (time and date of broadcasts in parentheses):

The collective of 11 Heroes Mine in Bater, Mat District, exceeded the 6-month chrome extraction plan by 1,100 tons (1230 GMT, 2 Aug).

Permet District exceeded the 7-month industrial production plan by 1 million leks (1230 GMT, 4 Aug).

The industrial plan in Mat District was exceeded 3 percent for the 7-month period (1230 GMT, 4 Aug).

Skrapar District has overfulfilled industrial production by 2 percent (1230 GMT, 8 Aug).

Mirdite District overfulfilled the industrial plan 0.3 percent (1800 GMT, 9 Aug).

Tepelene District industrial production plan was fulfilled 102 percent for the 7-month period (1000 GMT, 10 Aug).

Mat District industrial enterprises realized plans by 103.4 percent (1230 GMT, 12 Aug).

Shkoder District enterprises fulfilled industrial plans 103 percent for January-July period (1800 GMT, 12 Aug).

Gramsh District industrial collectives realized plans for January-July over target, producing 110,000 leks; exports fulfilled 104 percent (1000 GMT, 13 Aug).

Kukes District economic enterprises fulfilled plans for January-July period (1230 GMT, 14 Aug).

Gramsh District industrial production plan was fulfilled 104 percent (1600 GMT, 14 Aug).

Sarande District collectives are implementing decisions to increase effectiveness of production; the foodstuffs sector alone has exceeded its 7-months plan target by 5 million leks (1600 GMT, 14 Aug).

Pogradec District foodstuffs industry exceeded production plan 6.8 percent (0600 GMT, 15 Aug).

The nails and spikes factory in Kavaje, Durres District, overfulfilled production plan by 3 million leks (1230 GMT, 15 Aug).

The collectives of the light and food industry sector in Elbasan District have produced goods worth 4 million leks over the plan for the period from 1 January to date (1800 GMT, 16 Aug).

The Burrel chrome mine collective has fulfilled its January-July plans over target by 1.8 million leks (1230 GMT, 17 Aug).

Librazhd District enterprises have fulfilled plans for January-10 August period producing goods valued at 1 million leks over target. Exports were fulfilled (1800 GMT, 18 Aug).

The Fushe Arrez copper mine has fulfilled plans for the January-10 August period by 104.5 percent, producing 1.6 million leks over target and reporting cost reductions of 1.5 million leks for the period (1800 GMT, 18 Aug).

Shkoder District industrial plan was overfulfilled by 1.5 percent (0600 GMT, 21 Aug).

Permet District overfulfilled industrial plans by 106 percent, and produced 2 million leks over target; export plans were also fulfilled (1800 GMT, 24 Aug).

Sarande District enterprises have fulfilled their plans for January 20 August period producing 8 million leks over target, of which 6,000,000 by the food industry alone (1230 GMT, 27 Aug).

Mat District enterprises overfulfilled their industrial plans by 3 percent with a cost reduction of 1.75 million leks (1800 GMT, 26 Aug).

Lushnje District economic enterprises have fulfilled their plans for period January-15 August and produced 3.7 million leks over target (1000 GMT, 29 Aug).

Sarande District industrial production plan for January-August was overfulfilled 9 million leks (1230 GMT, 4 Sep).

Kolonje District has fulfilled the 8-month industrial production plan 104 percent, with an increase of 11 percent in labor productivity (1230 GMT, 5 Sep).

LEADERS WELCOME GORBACHEV, DELEGATION IN SOFIA

AU071140 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgaria 0900 GMT 7 Sep 84

[Text] A Soviet party and government delegation, headed by Mikhayl Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, arrived in Sofia today to participate in the celebrations on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of socialist revolution in Bulgaria. The delegation includes Nikolay Ryzhkov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Aleksandr Lyashko, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Ukranian SSR Council of Ministers, and (Vladimir Chicharov), twice Hero of Socialist Labor and Brigade leader of the brigade at the Leningrad machine-building plant.

At Sofia airport the delegation was cordially greeted by Comrade Ognyan Doynov, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Andrey Lukanov, Dimitur Stanishev, Kiril Zarev, Emil Khristov, as well as by Leonid Grekov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria, and by members of the Soviet Embassy.

PAPERS REPORT ON STATUS OF HONECKER FRG VISIT

AU061516 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Sep 84 p 7

[BTA report: "Conversation in Bonn"]

[Text] Bonn, 4 Sep -- As the ADN news agency has announced, Ewald Moldt, leader of the GDR Permanent Mission in Bonn, today met Philipp Jenninger, state minister at the FRG Federal Chancellery. The two officials discussed certain matters related to the visit of Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, to the FRG, which is being prepared.

After the meeting, Ewald Moldt stated to journalists that many of these matters are still unresolved. The dates envisaged by the Federal Government for Erich Honecker's visit cannot be considered realistic, he stated. The leader of the GDR Permanent Mission pointed out that the style of the public discussion in the FRG in connection with the originally envisaged visit is extremely unworthy and harmful. Such a style is absolutely unacceptable for the relations between two countries, he added.

[Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian on 5 September on page 4 also carries a short report on Moldt's announcement which reads: "Ewald Moldt, leader of the GDR Permanent Mission in the FRG has met with Philipp Jenninger, state minister at the Federal Chancellery. The two talked about some questions related to the visit to the FRG of Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, which is being prepared."]

DZHUROV ARTICLE HAILS SOCIALIST PROGRESS

AU051330 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 4 Sep 84 pp 1-2

[Article by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense: "40 Years Forward and Upward!"]

[Text] Engaged in our daily work we somehow ignore the quick passage of time and do not sense how much has been achieved.

However, then a holiday comes, the accelerated work pace stops, and the results of our creativity proudly rise up in front of us!

Who of that generation which achieved freedom, and which was intoxicated with happiness in those September 1944 days, has noticed how quickly these 40 years have passed? Who of us, busy in our work in the general national complex, has had time to observe and survey the work of our people in these 40 years? However, the holiday comes, and, according to the established tradition, we evaluate the results in our sector of life and on a national scale.

The 40th anniversary of our socialist revolution is a wonderful occasion to review the balance. Our people cannot but be proud with what has been achieved.

For years now we have measured our successes not with what we were, but with what we want to be. We measure ourself against the most developed industrial countries in the world. This is correct. Our entire life -- material and spiritual -- has progressed so much that it is inappropriate to compare it with the past. For instance, can we compare our industry with the crafts of 1939 bourgeoise Bulgaria? These are incomparable quantities. In 1983 our industrial production was 84 times larger than our production in 1939. In 40 years our agrarian production has increased 3 times, and our national income 13 times. At the end of 1983 our motherland disposed with basic funds to the tune of 94 billion leva! These are numbers which mean a great deal; they show that the people's free work achieved during 40 years tens of times more than the bourgeoisie in 60 years.

This is material production, but what about the spiritual area? Can we compare our achievements in education, science, health protection, literature, and the arts with what used to be? Let us look only at what has been achieved in education. In 1983, 303,000 specialists with a higher education, 140,000 with an incomplete higher education, and 489,000 with a special high school education worked in Bulgaria! This is more than one-tenth of the people!

Even our enemies admit that our economy is developing at an accelerated and ongoing pace.

We know that these results are not a goal per se. Our leading party has always looked at man and his needs -- both material and spiritual. We effected our revolution for man! If we produce steel -- this is for man! If we build libraries -- this is also for man! All so that man may have a richer and more cultural life. This is the sense of our entire socialist construction.

We can boldly say that our people are now living in an incomparably richer and better manner than in the past.

The decree of the BCP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, the Central Council of the Bulgarian trade union, the National Council of the Fatherland Front, and the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol on further implementing the December program makes a further contribution to the further prosperity of the people.

According to international statistics, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is 100th in the world in terms of territory, and 63d in terms of population. In Europe our place is, respectively, 15th and 17th, and in the Balkans, 5th.

In the per capita production of electric cars, motor cars, calcium soda, tobacco, and cigarettes, Bulgaria is first worldwide. In Europe we are first in the production of wheat. In many of the most significant industrial branches we are first in the Balkans.

In recent years we have achieved leading positions in the world in the electronics area. It has often been said, but one must always remember it, that these successes would have been unthinkable without the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the BCP and its vital April general line.

Now the entire country is developing in accordance with the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and the National BCP Conference, and in harmony with the theoretical postulates developed in the speeches, reports, lectures, and statements of Comrade Todor Zhivkov after the congress. These are documents that trace our forward progress. The results achieved are unthinkable without our mutually beneficial cooperation with the great USSR and the other countries of the socialist community.

The recent CEMA member-countries' summit revealed new horizons for this cooperation.

The international authority of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has strengthened in the fraternal family of the socialist community's countries. Today Bulgaria is a recognized trade partner of more than 100 world countries. Its voice is listened to at many authoritative political forums. With its peaceful foreign policy, Bulgaria contributes to solving the most burning problems of our time.

Our country's contribution is especially great in strengthening peace and good-neighborly relations in the Balkans. Here our policy is based on consistently respecting the universally recognized principles of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-violation of borders, equality, mutual benefit, and noninterference in internal affairs.

The Bulgarian People's Army was born in the stormy days of September 1944. The BCP was its creator and leader.

Together with the people, our Army has traveled a glorious road of development. Together with the motherland, our Army has also strengthened, so that 40 years after its foundation it has become an Army with modern training and equipment.

Relying on the Leninist teaching of the defense of the socialist motherland, and more particularly on the postulate that the defense of socialism is a component of the struggle of the people for constructing a developed socialist society, the BCP is making constant efforts to facilitate every step of our country toward communism by simultaneously strengthening its defensive ability and increasing the Army's combat power.

Thanks to the care of the party, our Army developed according to the requirements of the modern revolution of military science. This was facilitated by an increase of the country's economic and scientific-technological capabilities, Soviet assistance, and cooperation with the other countries of the socialist community.

During the past 40 years the combat power of all branches of the Armed Forces has been elevated to a new level of quality. Now the ground forces, the Air Force, the anti-aircraft forces, and the Navy equipped with modern weapons and combat equipment, are able to perform all tasks independently, or in cooperation with the armies of the fraternal Warsaw Pact member-countries.

The increased economic capabilities of the country are reflected in the exceptionally favorable supply of the Army; the clothes, food, camp furniture, medical services, and the technical aids of the training process are constantly improving.

According to its social nature, the Bulgarian People's Army is characterized by internal unity, common class interests, and ideological cohesion of the commanding and regular staff. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov said: "Today the Bulgarian people have an Army, which with vital justification, is called the Bulgarian People's Army, because the soldier and the general are brothers in class, children of the party and the people...."

Our Army is strong not only because of its weapons and combat equipment, but also because of its personnel. It has wonderful commanders, political workers, engineers, and technicians, who are politically mature, ideologically tempered, bold and full of personal initiative, and excellently trained specialists.

Our officers consistently implement the party policy in the Army, study and apply in practice the requirements of military science, skillfully lead their units, train and teach the soldiers, and prepare them as worthy defenders of the motherland. The sergeants, soldiers, and sailors have a high educational and cultural level, and a constantly growing interest in science and technology. They develop valuable technical and professional habits and are capable of mastering the most complex combat tactics.

All this allows us to most responsibly state that today our Army is capable of defending the peaceful work and socialist achievements of our people from hostile attempts.

The Army's power is enhanced by the fact that it is in the combat formation of the Warsaw Pact member-countries, the iron shield of socialism, peace, and progress.

On the eve of the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, and the Army's birthday, its soldiers and commanders express their gratitude to the party leader and the entire Bulgarian people for the warm parental care, and assure them that they will not spare forces and efforts of the youth for guaranteeing the defense of our dear motherland -- the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

DZHUROV SPEECH AT MILITARY ACADEMY GRADUATION

AU051344 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 2 Sep 84 pp 1-2

[Speech by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, at the 1 September Varna graduation ceremony of the Georgi Rakovski Military Academy and "military academies in the USSR"]

[Excerpts] Comrade officers, graduates of the Georgi Rakovski Military Academy and military academies in the USSR, comrade young officers and sergeants, graduates of the military schools, comrade generals, admirals, officers, sergeants, and soldiers, dear Soviet comrades, esteemed Varna citizens, and guests of our ceremony, comrades:

With great pleasure I fulfill this pleasant task and on behalf of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, the State Council, and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on the personal behalf of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, on behalf of the Ministry of National Defense, and on my own behalf, I greet most cordially and warmly the young officers and sergeants on the successful completion of their studies at the academies and schools and on their first officer and sergeant rank, and wish them from the bottom of my heart good health and creative successes in their responsible fields of activity. Let them be worthy defenders of our socialist homeland and guard our sacred borders against the attempts of enemies.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR are cooperating in party work, state and economic construction, science, culture, foreign policy activity, and in the area of defense -- we cooperate fraternally in all areas and directions. This is socialist internationalism in action and a permanent source of vitality and power for our two peoples.

The great achievements during the 40 years of people's government are a result of this friendship and comprehensive cooperation, and the correct course, steadily followed by the BCP and the CPSU -- a course which brings our countries and peoples ever closer together.

We are happy that the Bulgarian People's Army is in the same family with the great Soviet Army, the invincible support of peace on the planet. We are especially grateful to the Soviet people and its Armed Forces for their selfless assistance in constructing and developing the Bulgarian People's Army as a strong and modern socialist army.

The Bulgarian people, the BCP, and the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army are proud of this holy and fraternal friendship and deeply cherish it. It is a powerful source of creative successes and victories. It inspires us with new vigor and self-confidence, gives impetus to our upsurge, an points out the summits of progress.

You, dear young comrades, have the great honor to be, together with our entire people, heirs, defenders, and continuers of this holy friendship. I would like to express the deep conviction of the BCP Central Committee, the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense, your mothers and fathers, and the entire Bulgarian people, that you will be worthy bearers of your name, "1984 Class of Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship," and that you will spare no work and knowledge in educating firm defenders of our socialist fatherland.

Though engaged in peaceful and creative work, we must not forget, even for a moment, that we are constructing the new society under conditions of increasing military danger. The militant forces of imperialism, led by the U.S. imperialists, aim at changing the military-strategic balance in their favor. In accordance with this goal, they continue to deploy nuclear missiles in Western Europe, develop new programs for creating new nuclear and conventional weapons, and plan the militarization of space. Having turned lies and impertinence into an argument, Washington is sharply exacerbating the international situation, destroying the bridges of confidence, and placing obstacles on the road toward a serious dialogue in the name of peace. The aggressive actions of U.S. imperialism in Central America and the Caribbean, the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, Africa, the Indian Ocean, and the Pacific evoke anger and indignation.

The pressure on our country has been particularly exacerbated recently. We have been accused of terrorism, illegal trade with drugs and arms, and what not!

The policy of rude force, overt militarism, and nuclear blackmail endangers all peoples throughout the world. Therefore the protection and defense of peace today acquires global significance. Because of this, and recognizing their historical responsibility, the USSR and the countries of the socialist community are working tirelessly for removing the danger of a thermonuclear war and are proposing new and radical measures for limiting and decreasing armaments upon the only possible and just basis of equality and equal security, for non-militarization of space, and for decreasing tension at global and regional levels.

The consistent foreign policy of the USSR and the countries of the socialist community enjoys broad support and understanding throughout the world. The antimissile and antiwar movement throughout the world is growing.

At the same time, the perfidy of the forces of reaction and militarism obligates us to demonstrate unrelenting vigilance. We must guard the interests of our security and not underany circumstances allow an upsetting of the strategic-military balance. In this context, the responsive measures adopted by the USSR and the other socialist countries aim at protecting the balance of power and cooling the hot heads of the militant adventurists. The Warsaw Pact and its Armed Forces are now the most reliable guarantor of peace. "Let all know," stated Comrade Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee [state title not given as published] "that no fans of military adventures will succeed in catching us unprepared, and no potential aggressor should hope to avoid a destructive responsive strike."

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is conducting steadily and consistently a constructive and peace-loving policy of good-neighborliness and cooperation with all peoples. It aims at increasing the power and cohesion of the socialist community, strengthening the power and cohesion of the international communist and workers movement, and protecting peace in the Balkans, Europe, and the world.

Comrades, the increasing danger of war strongly demands that to make constant efforts for strengthening the defensive ability of the motherland, and increasing the combat power of the army. Today we can proudly say that following steadily the behest of Georgi Dimitrov and under the constant care of the BCP Central Committee and of Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally, and with the comprehensive and selfless assistance of the USSR and its gallant Armed Forces, the Bulgarian People's Army has developed as a modern armed power, having modern weapons and combat equipment, high combat skills and indestructible combat spirit. Service in the Armed Forces is a real school of ideological-political, moral, and physical tempering of the young generation, a school of heroism, preparing worthy patriots and internationalists, and vigilant guardians of the motherland and socialism.

In combat unity with the fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact member-countries, led by the invincible and legendary Soviet Army, the Bulgarian People's Army loyally guards the peaceful work of the people and the cause of socialism.

PEACE MEETING DELEGATES CALL FOR DISARMAMENT

AU061410 Sofia BTA in English 1351 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Varna, September 6 (BTA) -- The meeting-dialogue "Peace - an Indispensable Condition for the Social Progress of the Peoples" in which 74 delegations from 45 countries from Europe, Asia, Africa and America ended today. It showed that the international agrarian movement lays its authority and political potential on the scale of peace.

From the rostrum of this forum the parties of the agrarians expressed their readiness to pursue the course towards consolidating trust and security, towafds the non-use of force in international relations, towards establishing of nuclear-weapon-free zones in the Balkans, northern Europe and in other regions, towards averting the militarization of outer space and towards the elimination of the hot spots of tension in the world.

They expressed the unanimous opinion that these and other measures directed towards disarmament and the consolidation of trust can lead to a radical improvement of the political climate in the world.

Thus enormous resources will be reorientated towards solving the vitally important problems of our times -- the food, energy, raw material and ecological problems. New opportunities will be opened up for the further promotion of the mutually advantageous East-West cooperation. The participants emphasised the necessity for concrete steps to be made for the reorganisation of the international economic relations on a democratic and just basis.

There should be a change towards detente and disarmament Mr. Vasco Gonzalves, former prime minister of Portugal said. This political functioneer who is a representative of the "generals for peace" movement defined the adventuristic policy of the present U.S. Government directed towards achieving military superiority as extremely dangerous for the future of the peoples. Mr. Roger Siblev, member of the leadership of the Liberal Party of Great Britain was as categorical - "NATO's doctrine for a first nuclear strike must be reconsidered. The developing of outer space means of annihilation must be prohibited", he said.

In his closing speech Mr. Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union gave a high assessment to the work of the forum. It is a unique phenomenon which brought a large number of different parties and organisation to common views and unanimity on the principal issue of our times -- the preservation of peace" he pointed out. Mr. Petur Tanchev stressed that Bulgaria's foreign policy course is directed towards peace, goodneighbourliness and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world. No slanders can smear this truth" he said.

The participants in the meeting-dialogue adopted a final announcement which will be submitted for publication tomorrow.

ZHIVKOV ATTENDS 6 SEP MEETING WITH VETERANS

AU061827 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] A meeting of the BCP Central Committee Politburo with active fighters against fascism and capitalism was held at the Georgi Kirkov Hall of the Party House in Sofia tonight.

On the eve of Bulgaria's great holiday -- the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in our country -- former participants in the antifascist struggle, veteran commanders of operational uprising zones and guerilla brigades, former partisans and their supporters, as well as other active fighters who struggled for freedom and achieved it, attended the meeting. The meeting was opened by Comrade Stanko Todorov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and National Assembly Chairman.

All those present greeted Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee General Secretary and State Council Chairman, with enthusiastic applause and cheers in honor of the party -- our leader. Our first party and state leader most cordially greeted the veterans of the workers and communist movement on their glorious day -- the 40th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria. Comrade Todor Zhivkov dealt with certain international and domestic topics.

Vladimir Bonev, Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism Central Committee Chairman, expressed the gratitude, emotion, and feelings of the veteran fighters against fascism and capitalism. He confirmed their readiness, as in the past and also in the future, to continue to devote their revolutionary ardor and all their energies to the party and people in building a socialist society in our beloved socialist motherland.

LEADERS' ACTIVITIES FOR 40TH ANNIVERSARY REPORTED

AU061841 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1930 GMT on 5 September reports that Dimitur Stoyanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of the interior, inaugurated a newly constructed administrative building of the Ministry of Interior organs in Mikhaylovgrad. During the ceremony, Stoyanov greeted all those present on the occasion of the forthcoming national day and presented awards to meritorious members of the Ministry of Interior organs, as well as to specialists and workers who participated in the construction of the new building.

Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 0900 GMT on 6 September carries a report on Todor Bozhinov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member, deputy chairman of the Council Ministers, and minister of energy and raw material resources, attending the commissioning of new facilities at the "Leonid Brezhnev" plant in Sofia.

The same newscast reports that Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a meeting of Sofia journalists to mark the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 6 September carries reports on the following leaders opening newly commissioned projects: Todor Bozhinov attended the opening of a large supermarket in the Kremikovtsi area near Sofia, which was opened by Georgi Karamanev, minister of production and trade with consumer goods.

Chudomir Aleksandrov, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended the commissioning of two new modern automatic conveyor belt lines at the electric battery-driven vehicles plant in Sofia.

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, inaugurated the new Sofia Hotel complex named "Rodina," which was designed by a collective, headed by Architect Todor Kozhukharov, and is the largest hotel complex in the country.

Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, inaugurated the newly built Construction Workers Polyclinic in the Sofia Kolarov Rayon, which is the largest workers hospital in the country.

AGRICULTURAL MEMORANDUM SIGNED WITH MONGOLIA

AU062120 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Talks have been held in Sofia on expanding cooperation between Bulgaria and Mongolia in the agricultural sector. Aleksandur Petkov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Agro-Industrial Union Central Council, and Surenhoryn Sodnomdorj, minister of agriculture of Mongolia, signed a memorandum on their talks.

CRITICISM OF FRG HANDLING OF HONECKER VISIT

Provocations Viewed

LD061153 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0730 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Willy Brandt, chairman of the FRG's SPD, and Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the Bundestag SPD Group, openly criticized the right-wing forces in the FRG whose negative attitude toward the GDR and the socialist countries led to postponement of the visit of Erich Honecker, the highest GDR representative. The Green Party, in a statement, has spoken in the same spirit. Even Franz Josef Strauss, the Bavarian premier and leader of the CSU, joined in criticizing the provocations.

As today's RUDE PRAVO says, despite this, representatives of the West German right, in a televised debate on calling off the visit, attempted to seek nonexistent causes other than themselves. However, they have not been able to refute the fact that in preparing for the visit the right refused to respect GDR demands and solve questions that would lead to elimination of discrimination against the GDR on the part of West Germany. RUDE PRAVO goes on the recall a statement made by Herbert Mies, chairman of the DKP, that calling off the visit resulted from the irresponsible campaign by extreme right forces in the FRG.

'Intolerable' Atmosphere in FRG

LD061514 Prague International Service in Czech and Slovak 2230 GMT 5 Sep 84

[Text] As the GDR radio network announced yesterday, Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, called off the anticipated date of his visit to the FRG. We shall talk about the reasons for this step in the following commentary written by Radek Wanke:

It was announced in Berlin that this happened because of this extremely undignified and intolerable atmosphere created in the FRG in regard to the anticipated visit to the Federal Republic by the highest GDR representative. Such is the official diplomatic explanation. To use simpler language however, the reason is the insulting polemic launched in the FRG in connection with the anticipated visit, a polemic unacceptable for contacts between sovereign states. The West German Government declared immediately that it cannot accept the GDR explanation and described the polemic as a public debate, documenting the democratic character of the West German society. And the host himself, Chancellor Helmut Kohl, said literally: The head of the East German state and party must accept the fact that various views will be expressed on his visit. The problem, however, lies in the fact that those various views have not been expressed in the ranks of the opposition parties but directly by the politicians of the governing coalition. It is difficult to pay an official state visit to the FRG when, for instance, Alfred Dregger, chairman of the Bundestag CDU/CSU Group, declares that the future of the Federal Republic does not depend on whether Honecker will honor us by his visit. In this context, the West German chancellor's words about the readiness of his government to develop friendly relations with the GDR must necessarily be understood as insincere. This impression was strengthened by Helmut Kohl's pronouncements at the opening of the so-called "Days of the Homeland" in Braunschweig, where he said publicly that he regards the so-called German question as open and assumed the stance of the protector of the interests of all Germans when he said: Our present, foremost task is to make the burden of the division more tolerable for the people of Germany. When he spoke about relations with the GDR, he used the term, both states in Germany.

How then, can the highest representative of a country accept an invitation to pay a visit when his host practically denies that country's sovereignty? As Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED, said in another instance, declarations of the alleged openess of the so-called German question are not only unrealistic, they also prevent the improvement of the international situation. In the case of Erich Honecker's planned visit to the FRG, the calculated speculations by the highest West German representatives about GDR sovereignty were one of the principal reasons for calling off the visit. This also has been admitted in any case by the West German SPD. Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of Bundestag SPD Group, for instance voiced his doubts whether Chancellor Kohl is capable of continuing the German policy which he too over from the SPD. And SPD Chairman Willy Brandt said directly that the Bonn governing coalition bears joint responsibility for the situation which has developed. Critical voices aimed at Chancellor Kohl can also be heard, however, from the ranks of the coalition partner. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, chairman of the FDP and the West German foreign minister, stressed that the FDP believes it is necessary to act in a manner that prevents deterioration of relations with the GDR. Even Franz Josef Strauss, chairman of the CSU, said that a few weeks ago he made several warnings against harmful pronouncements on Erich Honecker's trip to the FRG.

It is clear, for instance, that Franz Josef Strauss' criticism of the West German Government is based on positions different from the criticism of the Social Democrats, whose stance is far closer to political realism. This stance is, that the only path to the peaceful development of relations between the GDR and FRG based on equality is to observe the treaty signed 11 years ago on the foundations governing the relations between the two countries. When this condition is met, the visit to Bonn by the highest GDR representative is still realistic. As Erich Honecker declared today when meeting Japanese parliamentarians, he will gladly accept an invitation to visit the FRG. This trip must, however, be carefully prepared and must have guarantees that it will bring positive results. Such guarantees did not exist for the planned, approaching visit to the FRG by Erich Honecker. This is why calling off the date is a totally understandable step.

COMMENT ON FRG GENERAL IN NATO NUCLEAR ARMS POST

LD061233 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0500 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] The appointment of the FRG's General Mack to a post in NATO headquarters in which he will be responsible for the alliance's nuclear arms is a subject of a RUDE PRAVO commentary today under the headline "A Finger on a Nuclear Trigger." It says that Mack's appointment to this very post confirms the resolve of the government circles in both the United States and the FRG to drag that country even more into the nuclear plans of the Atlantic alliance. It is aimed at ensuring that Bundeswehr representatives themselves have a finger on a nuclear trigger which, coupled with the galvanization of the revanchist forces in West Germany and their support by the Bonn government circles, does not augur well, stresses RUDE PRAVO at the close.

EDITORIAL ON NEED FOR CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM

AU051306 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 4 September carries on page 1 a 1,600-word editorial, entitled "Learning to Criticize...". After quoting Gustav Husak's words on the usefulness of criticism at the 15th CPCZ Congress, the editorial points out that: "Criticism and self-criticism must be learned. It is a dialectic struggle full of contradictions, in which one must overcome and break all that is conservative and obsolete and open up the way for all that is new, modern, and revolutionary...."

Asking why many people have not learned to do this, the editorial points out that as a rule both criticism and self-criticism are unpleasant, and that they are received "time and again with a sizable portion of distrust," although they are intended as comradely assistance. Insisting that criticism must be received "without panicky nervousness" and in a "dignified, civilized way," the editorial says that a "human, honest attitude to criticism is proof of the maturity of cadres, and of a normal, healthy microclimate in a collective." The reverse, that is, "any sign of manifestation of suppression of criticism or persecution for it," the paper continues, "is a warning signal of certain shortcomings, as a rule serious ones, of gloom and lack of morale in a collective, in a working place, a situation that calls for immediate measures and frequently also for a radical, principled solution. This is affirmed by the analysis of 'nervous,' unparty-minded acceptance of criticism. The analysis has shown that this is as a rule caused by the human limitations of an individual or by his smugness, but most often by low political, professional, and moral-cultural standards of individuals and even managers, and by their superciliousness and isolation from the working people."

"It is clear," the paper goes on to say, "that people in several bodies, institutions, and ministries have not yet learned to exercise criticism and self-criticism. This in fact goes against the Leninist style of work; and it is a paradox that in making general evaluations and in other suitable situations so fundamental a question as the attitude toward criticism of the person being evaluated is as a rule not examined; no attention is given to this question, to the mastering of this indispensable tool in regard to task fulfillment."

Stressing that "criticism and self-criticism must be understood, implemented, and developed not merely with regard to the individual, but also in a wider context, comprehensively, and in the context of our plans and tasks, such as the transition to a mostly intensive path of development," the paper says that the existing reserves for better and thriftier work are prime subject for criticism and self-criticism. This must be directed against irresponsibility, complacency, lack of initiative, rigidity, conservatism, and old forms and methods of work; and must encourage all that is progressive and revolutionary, the paper says.

It then points out that, alongside positive phenomena, there are still abuses and shortcomings that are obstructing the country's way forward: "excessive greed, speculation, egotism, preference for personal and group interests rather than for all-social interests." However, there are also people who say they welcome criticism but continue the "practices and swindles" that have been criticized, the paper points out; and this must be remedied by the individuals or collectives responsible for the situation in a working place. The criticism must be specific, the paper adds, and it must be followed up by practical deeds; it must be uncompromising, sensitively applied, and aimed at developing the Leninist style of work

PAKISTANI BOMBING SHOWS FALSE WILLINGNESS TO TALK

AU061205 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Sep 84 p 7

[Boris Latta commentary in the "On the Margin" column: "The Blood of Innocents on the Junta's Conscience"]

[Text] Another round of Afghan-Pakistani talks ended last Thursday [30 August] in Geneva. Less than 24 hours later, a time bomb exploded at Kabul Airport and took dozens of lives and injured dozens of people, mostly women and children....

At first glance the two events do not seem to be connected. And yet they are. On a more detailed analysis, we find far too close a connection.

While Pakistan's minister of foreign affairs, Sahabzada Yaqub Ali Khan, conducted negotiations in Geneva with his Afghan counterpart, Shah Mohammad Dost, a bloodbath was being prepared in Islamabad for the innocent civilian population. After all, this was confirmed by the words said by Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, when he visited the injured victims of the barbaric act at the international airport in Kabul. Among other things, he said the bomb was planted on the initiative of Pakistani authorities.

Naturally, nobody expected General Ziaul Haq's military junta to adopt a constructive approach at the bilateral negotiations in Geneva.

From the very beginning, the negotiations were held in an unfavorable atmosphere. For instance, they were preceded by Pakistan's slanderous campaign against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [DRA] in connection with the alleged attacks of Afghan units on Pakistani territory. However, so far Islamabad has not come up with specific proof, apart from slanders against Kabul. It is not difficult to ascertain the purpose of such behavior. It endeavored, in fact, to evoke anti-Afghan moods in the country and in this way to prepare the Pakistanis for a "firm" attitude during the Geneva negotiations.

The tragedy of innocent people at the international airport in Kabul represents yet another attempt of reactionary Pakistani circles to intimidate the population of the DRA. At the same time it proves the falsity of Islamabad's proclaimed willingness to conduct negotiations with Afghanistan in a constructive spirit. The junta -- together with its protector the United States -- has again convinced itself that the plan to unify anti-Afghan counterrevolutionary forces is unrealistic. That is why it does not shrink back even from such reprehensible acts as terrorist attacks against the civilian population.

JAKES, HAMAN ATTEND DPRK EMBASSY GALA FETE

LD062059 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Chi Chae-yong, the DPRK ambassador to the CSSR, gave a gala reception in Prague today to mark the national holiday of his country -- the 36th anniversary of the founding of the Republic. It was attended by Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Josef Haman, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Ladislav Gerle, Jaromir Obzina, and Svatopluk Potac, federal vice premiers, and other representatives of the CSSR's political and public life.

DUAL CITIZENSHIP TREATY SIGNED WITH MONGOLIA

LD060854 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0001 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Federal Interior Minister Vratislav Vajnar yesterday signed on behalf of the president of the Republic in Prague a treaty between the CSSR and the Mongolian People's Republic setting out provisions for dual citizenship. It will contribute to the deepening of mutual friendly relations between the nations of the two countries and will place relations between citizens holding CSSR and Mongolian citizenship on a contractual basis. This treaty will come into operation 30 days after the exchange of ratification documents

DKP HEAD: RIGHT WING UNDERCUTS HONECKER VISIT

LD061508 East Berlin ADN international Service in German 1027 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Duesseldorf, 6 Sep (ADN) -- DKP Chairman Herbert Mies made the following statement in Duesseldorf yesterday: The statement by the GDR that through the undignified and scandalous debate, the ground has been cut from underneath a visit to the FRG by Erich Honecker, GDR State Council chairman and general secretary of the SED Central Committee, is the result of an irresponsible campaign by ultraright-wing forces, which is characterized by the actions of Dregger and others. These forces do not like the whole basic direction of a policy directed at securing peace, implementing concluded treaties with the socialist countries, and having peaceful, mutually beneficial cooperation. They ignore the truth that there is no reasonable alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence, that a policy of reason and constructive dialogue corresponds to the peace interests of their own nation as well as all nations.

Those who turn against constructive implemenation of treaties between the FRG and the socialist countries, who want to replace peaceful cooperation with confrontation, are consciously jeopardizing everything achieved as progress in relations between the two German states in the past years. This must be decisively opposed. Those who refuse to show reason and good will and instead practice anticommunist idiocies and join Reagan's "crusade against communism," are doing serious damage to the FRG and its citizens and are violating the basic requirements to sceure peace in Europe. This is a virtual challenge to all forces of reason and peace for decisive resistance.

The increasing attempts to further aggravate and strain FRG-GDR relations are, just like the continued deployment of Pershing II missiles in the Federal Republic, a challenge to all the forces of peace for greater efforts for a sense of responsibility, reason and realism to prevail in our country.

Irresponsible opponents of peaceful coexistence and political dialogue must not be permitted to fan the flames of confrontation without meeting energetic resistance of the people. Rather, it is necessary for all peace-loving forces to work for the construction of a favorable atmosphere for the continuation of constructive dialogue, so that the peaceful relations with our socialist neighbors can be extended, and the Federal Republic is freed of nuclear first-strike weapons.

We Communists of the Federal Republic, and with us many supporters of peace and understanding, greet the policy of the GDR and the other socialist countries which is directed toward dialogue and talking. As Erich Honecker stressed in his most recent interview, the GDR's policy proceeds from the realization that everything must be done to ensure that war never again emanates from German soil, that it is better to talk 10 times then to shoot once.

We Communist will do our utmost to ensure that the forces hostile to detente and peace, the opponents of reason and realism, are pushed back, and that the policy of further constructive development of relations between the GDR and the Federal Republic is consolidated in the interest of peace and peaceful coexistence of the peoples. We are doing everything to stop the deployment of missiles already begun, and to ensure that the U.S. nuclear first-strike missiles disappear from the soil of the Federal Republic. We are pressing for the Federal Republic to support the conclusion of a treaty on the renunciation of force between NATO and Warsaw Pact states.

HONECKER, NEW USSR DELEGATION LEADER SHOKIN MEET

LD062318 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1539 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Berlin, 6 Sep (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, today had comprehensive talks with Aleksandr Shokin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister for electronics industry, on the development and prospects of economic and scientific-technological relations between the two countries. After Leonid Kostandov's death, Aleksandr Shokin is leading the Soviet Government delegation to the Leipzig trade fair.

Both men concurred that the firm fraternal alliance of the SED and CPSU and the GDR and USSR is a decisive force in the struggle for peace. It provides the policy of peace, continuing detente and cooperation as an alternative to the policy of confrontation and the arms race pursued by the United States and some NATO countries. Aleksandr Shokin described the Leipzig Autumn Fair as an effective contribution to the development of the peaceful cooperation of nations and states and of mutually beneficial trade. It was of great importance that the fair reflected socialism's capability, the close integration of the GDR and USSR economies, and the high level of socialist economic integration.

The aim is to achieve a high degree of economic efficiency and to strengthen economic power by means of a still closer coordination of economic policy to intensify and accelerate scientific-technological progress.

Erich Honecker emphasized the great importance attached to the process, now underway, of coordinating national economic plans between the GDR and USSR for the 1986-90 period and to agreeing on basic directions of collaboration to the year 2000.

It was of exceptional importance for both countries that in such areas as microelectronics, and food and consumer-goods industry, long-term and integrated cooperation offered great advantages and was contributing directly to the improvement of the cost-benefit ratio.

Erich Honecker informed his guest that the GDR party and state leaders had decided on measures for the expansion of cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other member-countries for the realization of the decisions of the top-level CEMA economic consultation. The GDR would in this way make its active contribution to the consistent implementation of these historic decisions.

Aleksandr Shokin said the Soviet Union would do everything possible to further deepen mutually beneficial cooperation for the period 1986 to 1990 and beyond. The partners in the talk noted that this would also make an important contribution to the economic strengthening of the entire socialist community of states.

Erich Honecker and Aleksandr Shokin agreed that the high level of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the USSR was the basis for the high-quality solution of the new tasks. Of particular importance here were the close links between thousands of work teams of both countries.

Present at the talk, held in an atmosphere of friendship, fraternity, and complete agreement, were Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; and Vyacheslav Kochemasov, Soviet ambassador to the GDR.

Stoph Holds Talks With Shokin

LD062332 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1713 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Berlin, 6 Sep (ADN) -- Willi Stoph, GDR premier and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received the USSR Government delegation to the 1984 Leipzig Autumn Fair, headed by Aleksandr Shoken, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister for the electronics industry. The meeting took place in an atmosphere of warm friendship and fraternal agreement. The possibilities and prospects for the further development of GDR-USSR economic relations were discussed. The great importance of the coordination of the GDR and the USSR plans for the coming 5-year plan period was emphasized. The stil closer coordination of the development prospects in such important branches as the electronic and chemical industry is a very important task.

Aleksandr Shokin praised the Leipzig fair as an outstanding exhibition of the GDR economy and as a center for expanding peaceful trade between peoples. The talks held by the Soviet delegation at the fair's stands and its consultations at combines had made clear the efforts of the working people of the GDR in raising production, increasing the efficiency of production, and opening up new paths of cooperation with the USSR.

Willi Stoph noted that the close links between the economic potential of the GDR and the USSR were of fundamental importance for the GDR. He said he was sure that through development of broad relations of cooperation and through the utilization of the multifarious opportunities for cooperation the intensification and rationalization process in the economies of the two countries would be further promoted.

During the exchange of views tribute was paid to the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries allied with it. The unity and cohesion of the socialist community of states provided, in view of the course of confrontation and arms buildup aggravated by the United States and other NATO staes, a reliable guarantee for international detente and security and for further socialist progress.

MITTAG SPEAKS ON ECONOMIC TASKS, CEMA TIES

LD032037 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1359 GMT 3 Sep 84

["SED Politburo Member Mittag Spoke on Tasks in the Further Successful Implementation of the Economic Strategy in the GDR" -- ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin, 3 Sep (ADN) -- Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, praised the initiatives of the working people of Berlin and th GDR in preparation of the 35th anniversary of the GDR. These initiatives in the socialis competition, the results achieved in it in the most varied spheres, and the new, ambitiou tasks merged to form a picture, painted in forceful, optimistic colors, of a healthy devel ment of the country on the path of socialism, Mittag said. At the same time they testifi to the great political influence and the important economic benefit of the GDR's very clo alliance with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries. All this gives the GDR the economic dynamism and political stability with which to continue to advance successfully along the path prescribed in the SED program for further shaping a developed socialist society. The important results achieved show that this is especially impressively demonstrated in the 35th year of the GDR's existence.

The speaker referred in detail to the interview given by Erich Honecker on "some issues related to the GDR's domestic and foreign policy.

He underlined the statement that the GDR is making its contribution to the strengthening of socialism and to raising its international authority on the basis of the course of the main task adopted at the 1971 Eighth SED Congress, which ahs been resolutely implemented for more than a decade. Building on this firm and sure foundation, the GDR's possibilities for exerting an active influence on the struggle for safeguarding peace has increased significantly. In this interview the entire political standpoint of the SED and the state on all the current fundamental issues had been expressed with great clarity, standpoints that were adopted at the 10th SED Congress and underlined at the seventh and eighth SED Central Committee sessions. The interview was permeated by the historical optimism which has always accompanied and continues to accompany the communists and all progressive and peace-loving forces in their great and difficult stuggle against imperialism, a merciless enemy prepared to undertake any atrocity. "We also base our confidence on our own historical experiences during 35 years of successful development in the GDR in the closest friendship with the Soviet Union."

In these 35 years the GDR has indeed become a pillar of peace and socialism in Europe, and is for all times allied to the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community. This is the case because the GDR is advancing on the path of socialism, and this path, which brings the people prosperity and peace, is now and for all time irrevocable.

In view of the aggravation of the international situation, brought about by the U.S. course of confrontation, Erich Honecker had stressed the need, now more than ever, to undertake all measures which contribute toward upholding the military balance, improving the international situation, and providing the chance of a peaceful future for mankind. "In this dialectic rests our party's position," Mittag said, "which it holds in accordance with the results of the consultations of leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact states in Prague and Moscow and with the CEMA declaration."

The great significance of the socialist states' militant course of intensively propagating peaceful coexistence and applying it in everyday policies, is becoming ever more evident. As Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium stated in his latest interview, what is needed is a transition to a policy of realism, healthy human understanding and business-like cooperation in solving tasks facing mankind.

There is just as little a viable alternative to peaceful coexistence as there is to political dialogue. "In this, our party always proceeds from the basic truth that the success of our peace policy rests on the growing strength of socialism." In view of the new situation which has risen from the stationing of new U.S. first-strike weapons in Western Europe, especially in the FRG, GDR working people have increased their readiness to contribute to safeguarding peace through all-round strengthening of the GDR.

They express their agreement in word and deed with the SED's policy, outlined by Erich Honecker in his interview. If one puts together all that has been demonstrated recently, one could state that the unity between the party and people has been forged together even more strongly in view of this policy, which expresses the basic vital interests of all people. "Here, too, we would like to thank with all our hearts, our friend and comrade, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, for his standpoint of struggling successfully for peace, and for his principled, untiring work for socialism, for the GDR, for friendship with the Soviet Union, for a peaceful and happy life for our people, today and always."

This active work for securing peace also determines the actions of the top workers in Berlin, as well as of all workers in the GDR. They take as their guideline that their most effective deed for securing peace consists of the highest possible contribution to the economic strengthening of the GDR.

With reference to the seventh SED Central Committee meeting and the speech by Erich Honecker at the Berlin Bezirk SED delegates' conference, Guenter Mittag dealt with the economic tasks in the combines, enterprises, and scientific institutions. He took as his starting point the fact that a new stage in the realization of the economic strategy for the eighties, decided by the 10th SED Congress, has begun. In essence, it is important to give intensification of the economy a comprehensive character and to guarantee stable foundations for its long-term development, he said. The decisive means to this end are to reach higher effectivity through new technologies and new products.

Guenter Mittag dealt with questions concerning the further deepening of socialist economic integration among the CEMA countries. The CEMA economic meeting held at the highest level in Moscow made decisive decisions, which the GDR actively supports.

In the joint statement by the Politburo and the Council of Ministers on the results of this meeting it had been declared that the GDR, on the basis of the 10th SED Congress decisions, will make an active contribution to implement the decisions of the economic meeting aimed at further deepening socialist economic integration. This means, above all, making available products that correspond to the highest technological-scientific level. This is a fundamental question for the further strengthening of the socialist community of states. Berlin combines and enterprises have a major share in exports to the CEMA countries, primarily the Soviet Union. This leads to the conclusion that everything must be done to provide such products that correspond to these high standards of quality. This is in the primary interest of the community of states and is in accordance with the decision of the 10th SED Congress concerning the further strengthening of the GDR and its fraternal alliance with the USSR.

Guenter Mittag then spoke about increasing labor productivity, the necessity of higher rates of renewal in production, and about other economic questions. In view of the growing demands being made of Berlin as the political, economic, and intellectual-cultural center of the GDR, the party leadership in January decided on new far-reaching measures to speed housing construction and development of Friedrichstrasse, the speaker emphasized. Today, preparatory work had largely been completed for implementing the decision to build an additional 10,000 new apartments in both 1985 and in 1986, including the necessary communal facilities. "If modernization is included, then altogether 67,700 apartments are to be created in the next 2 years, and thus living conditions for approximately 200,000 citizens are to be improved. This will scale new heights in the implementation of the Berlin program," Mittag said. These are also characterized by the fact that in 1985 more than 20,000 builders from the GDR bezirke will be active in Berlin alongside the approximately 40,000 Berlin builders.

"In this 35th year of the GDR's existence it is more than ever markedly clear that with the existence of the GDR, socialism has taken an irrevocable foothold on German soil," Mittag said in conclusion. "On this basis a state has arisen in which the exploitation of man by man has been removed forever; in which the right to work has become reality for everyone; in which high performance in science production and education are being achieved; in which the well-being of the people and securing peace are then highest state principles."

COMBINE SIGNS NATURAL GAS CONTRACT WITH USSR

LD061800 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1716 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Leipzig, 6 Sep (ADN) -- A contract was signed by the GDR and the USSR in Leipzig today for the supply of 6.2 billion cubic meters of natural gas in 1985. This steady continuation of Soviet supplies, which are economically valuable and particularly important for the chemical industry and for energy economy processes, was initialed today by the Verbundnetze Combine and by the foreign trade organization Soyuzgazeksport.

PRC COAL MINISTER DISCUSSES MINING COOPERATION

LD070833 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1746 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Leipzig, 6 Sep (ADN) -- Chinese Minister for Coal Industry Gao Yangwen on a visit to the Leipzig fair, was briefed on the efficiency of the GDR's coal and energy supply industry. Wolfgang Mitzinger, the GDR minister for coal and energy, explained the economic processes and technologies for the extraction and utilization of raw lignite and processing it into high-grade fuels and raw materials. He affirmed the GDR's readiness to consolidate scientific-technological and economic cooperation with the PRC for the benefit of both sides. The Chinese minister discussed with the GDR ministers of foreign trade and for construction of heavy machinery and equipment, Horst Soelle, and Rolf Kersten, the possibility of expanding trade and cooperation in the field of coal mining and processing.

LEADERS' CONGRATULATIONS ON SRV NATIONAL DAY

AU051732 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1/2 Sep 84 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- The GDR party and state leadership sent a congratulatory telegram to Hanoi on the 39th anniversary of the SRV. It is signed by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman; Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers chairman; and Horst Sindermann, GDR People's Chamber president, and addressed to Le Duan, Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee General Secretary; Truong Chinh, SRV State Council chairman; Nguyen Huu Tho, SRV National Assembly chairman; and Pham Van Dong, SRV Council of Ministers chairman. The message reads as follows:

Dear comrades: On the occasion of the 39th anniversary of the SRV, we convey to you, dear comrades, the CPV Central Committee, the State Council, the National Assembly, the government and the fraternal people of the SRV the most cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the People's Chamber, the Council of Ministers, and the GDR people.

The GDR people are sincerely pleased with the successes achieved by the Vietnamese people in implementing the decisions of the Fifth CPV Congress in building socialism and in constantly guaranteeing the security and national independence of the SRV.

The SRV is making a singnificant contribution in the struggle of the states of the socialist community to secure peace, against the imperialist confrontation and intensive armament policy. The constructive initiatives of the SRV for reducing tensions and creating a zone of peace, stability, and cooperation in Southeast Asia is getting the unreserved support of the GDR.

We note with great satisfaction that on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalsm, as well as the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation, the relations of close friendship, fraternal cooperation and solidarity between our parties, states, and peoples are constantly developing and deepening.

We wish you and all the fraternal Vietnamese people new great successes in further building socialism and in defending peace and you personally, dear comrades, best health, well-being, and creative vigor.

MSZMP OFFICIAL ON DECENTRALIZATION OF AUTHORITY

AU040912 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Aug 84 p 3

[Article by Dr Matyas Budzsaklia, deputy head of the Public Administration and Administrative Department of the MSZMP Central Committee: "Are Spheres of Authority Really Handed Down?"]

[Text] It is a cardinal principle of the party guidance of state life that spheres of authority -- that is, the right to make decisions -- must in all cases rest with bodies, leaders, and administrators that are capable, by virtue of appropriate political, legal, and vocational qualifications to pass the best possible resolution from the viewpoint of both public and individual interests in the shortest possible time. As far as the councils are concerned, this means also that management and public administration must be brought even closer to the people. Proceeding from this, it would be expedient to answer the question posed in the title from the viewpoint of whether, judging by the above-mentioned principle, decision-making rights have really "shifted," and from the aspect of how far those entitled to make decisions are capable of working independently.

The 1968 reform of the economic macromanagement system has had a considerable effect on the organization of public administration, including the activity of councils. On the basis of several party and government resolutions and by means of scientific studies an unprecedented impetus was given to the complex further development of state management at that time. Owing to the nature of the matter this work also extended to the decentralization of spheres of authority. The cardinal principle governing this was that the ministries and other major national authorities should deal with the ideological and political management of their sectors and reduce superfluous operational administration in their work. This principle was authoritative for the activity of both the municipal council and the country councils. In this connection, after appropriate preparations and experiments the National Assembly laid down in the law on councils three important fundamental principles. These are: the principle of the unification of local public administration (state administrative tasks directly affecting the population fall within the competence of the councils); the principle of decentralization of spheres of authority (state administrative matters that fall within the council's sphere of authority mainly are those that occur fairly frequently in everyday life in these local councils and their bodies have authority in the first-instance); and, not least, the principle of independence (the councils, exective committees, and sectoral management bodies each have their own sphere of authority; these bodies proceed independently in the sphere of authority delegated to them by legal decree).

Large-Scale Decentralization

In order to assert these principles, it was necessary to revise the legal sphere of central, regional and local council bodies alike. As a result of this work, there were considerable changes in the "first line" of the tasks and sphere of authority of council bodies. Numerous spheres of authority were transferred from the higher levels to the village, city, and municipal district councils and, respectively, to their various sectoral management bodies -- or as they are better known, their departments and sections. At the same time these bodies were given many areas of authority by the council corporations, that is, by the councils and executive committees that oversee them. Under the impact of the transformation of the economic macromanagement system, the sectoral management bodies of the local councils were given almost all the new or newly formulated spheres of authority that came about at that time.

In addition, quite a few spheres of authority were transferred from state bodies to local council bodies under the principle of unification of public administration, some of them even in a way that the body concerned was placed under the management of the council. The fact that country councils have not only transferred into the legal sphere of authority of village and city council bodies those spheres of authority they had been legally ordered to pass on, but also passed on to local council bodies several spheres of authority on their own accord if the necessary conditions for exercising them existed, has contributed to this large-scale decentralization of spheres of authority. This took place similarly at the municipal council as well. It is worth noting that in the history of Hungarian public administration there has never been a revision and decentralization spheres of authority of such magnitude and results. The dynamism of the handing down and transferring of spheres of authority has also produced undesirable consequences. The general release -- done under a legal decree -- of council corporations from dealing with individual cases has resulted in the fact that today not even tasks of this nature, which are probably of interest to a wide circle of the public, fall within their sphere of authority any longer. In the villages and cities, particularly smaller ones, public interest focuses on issues different from those at the level of the county councils or the municipal council. The same problem also arose as a result of the council corporations having consigned even the exercise of the spheres of authority assigned to them to executive committees to a wider extent than justified.

On the basis of all these, it can be said that today the communal, town, and municipal district councils, i.e. the local councils and their bodies have, for the most part, already received all those spheres of authority that more directly affect the population. Where conditions for their implementation existed in the communal, town, and municipal district councils, and where decentralization was justified, those spheres of authority which currently could be transferred, have been removed from the national, and the county and municipal levels. It is not in contradiction with the goals and the principles if -- owing to the lack of necessary conditions for their transfer to the villages -- certain spheres of authority are currently in the purview of the town council bodies which contribute to the administration of the county. It is also in line with the goals for the smaller village councils to jointly employ administrative experts on an interim basis, in a so-called administrative association. The situation, however, in which matters concerning the rural population -- with the exception of some really special types of affairs -- are dealt with entirely in the villages, can only be achieved through organizational and personnel conditions attainable only in the longer term.

The Councils Are the Stewards

The spheres of authority, therefore, are where they must be and currently, where they can be. In the overwhelming majority of cases they are where matters arise and where local circumstances concerning them are best known. The question arises, however, to what extent can the councils, the executive committees, and their different departments and groups exercise them independently, according to their best judgment -- within the framework of the regulations, of course. For the sake of a precise answer, it is necessary to differentiate between the spheres of authority according to whether they are connected to the "steward" role of the councils, or whether they are authorized to deal with individual official matters of the people and other bodies.

As to the spheres of authority connected with the councils' role as stewards, the characteristics are as follows: Today, the council bodies -- mainly as a result of the conditions that have emerged since the middle of the seventies -- are, for the most part, not in a position to fulfill their task in every respect.

In particular, decisions concerning area and community development plans, the implemen-implementation of communal goals, and the operation of different local supply and service institutions are those that often only formally reflect the will of the bodies. The current planning and regulatory management system does not permit adequate room to the councils for free play. A determining proportion of the means necessary for this reaches the councils through central, county, and municipal distribution, therefore the village, town, and municipal plans rely mainly on the tasks that can be made recognizable to the higher bodies. The assertion concerning the abovementioned role of the councils is also abetted by the fact that in the appointed period of time, the central economic management bodies were forced to reduce the financial means of the councils after plans' approval. The local councils are not sufficiently interested in increasing their income and, because of the restrictions on provisions -- in spite of the fact that in recent years things have eased in several respects concerning the councils' financial funds -- they can decide freely on the utilization of only a certain proportion of the material means available to them. The restrictions on personnel and organizational issues, too, are more strict than necessary. All these slow down the performance of the councils' functions and in the final analysis, they hinder their ability to be the real stewards of their jurisdictional territory.

For the Comprehensive Modernization of Management

In further developing the economic macromanagement system, it is therefore now inoperative to avoid and eliminate such obstacles. There is need, first of all, for the comprehensive modernization of the councils' management system, which primarily will lead to considerably greater economic independence of village and town councils, planning will become more open and the council bodies' ability to make substantial decisions will increase, together with the security and durability of their decisions. Taking into consideration the municipal peculiarities, this also applies to the municipal district councils. For all of these, the Central Committee position of 17 April, 1984, contains adequate proposals. Apparently necessary state measures are currently being worked out.

The implementation of these prospective measures would be considerably enhanced if the ministries and other supreme authorities relied more courageously on the training and sense of responsibility of the village and town council bodies and their members, officials, and administrators. To be sure, in the last one and a half decades it was repeatedly found that, despite frequent verification of the objectives announced and principles declared by top-level bodies, owing to various problems, a proposal was made to assign a sphere of authority to a higher level, or to centralize it, or conditions were established for exericising a sphere of authority that made its independence doubtful, to say the least. The previous opinion or approval of a higher body, its subsequent consent, and even its mere proposal have a serious effect on a decision's final development. Therefore, thorough consideration must be given to the question of whether these supervisory means are necessary and whether, in a given case, it is necessary to apply any of them at all.

The situation is considerably better regarding spheres of authority in the administration of individual cases. The independent nature of decisions is fully guaranteed in this sphere. This is all the more gratifying because, owing to the large number of cases, the work of council bodies in their capacity as official authorities has a considerable effect on social processes and on the general disposition of people. In this respect, that decisions are made by people who possess great local knowledge is of truly great significance.

In 10 years, the rate of resolutions that were appealed against in the first instance has considerably diminished, a fact that reflects, among other things, the advantages of local decisionmaking and the decentralization of spheres of authority. The observance of deadlines for deciding administrative matters has improved, the number of cases covered which exceeded the deadlines has decreased. It is a noteworthy fact that, of their own accord, the councils have given their sectoral management bodies a shorter deadline than the mandatory 30 days in attending to matters in some 150 kinds of cases. All this is ample proof that it is possible to rely on village and city councils more than before regarding spheres of authority connected with the councils' role as stewards.

Intensive Development on the Path of Independence

Two remarks need to be made in connection with the administration of affairs falling in this latter area. First: It cannot be disputed that increased demands on state administration necessitate the participation of various sectoral authorities in decisionmaking on an increasingly broader scale. However, under no circumstances must this result in the sectoral authorities issuing exorbitant stipulations and, without differentiation between cases depriving council leaders and administrators of the opportunity to weigh decision options. Second: Most council body leaders share the sphere of authority assigned to them with their fellow officials in leading and other positions. This is a correct and expedient leading method. On the basis of favorable experiences, its application can be safely recommended.

It is not right, however, if the leader, after the "transfer" of a sphere of authority does not really allow his fellow workers to work independently. That kind of independence where -- to use a slightly strong expression -- it is necessary to find the "taste" of the boss, is not of much value. In places where this situation prevails, those dealing with matters do not weigh the possible decisions with regard to the issue or the client but with regard to their leaders. Of course assuring independent activity for fellow workers does not rule out the leaders' instructions, supervision, calling to account when necessary, and need to be kept informed.

Well, we, on our part, have given the answer to the question raised. We hope that other authorities will also formulate answers in this matter -- answers reflected in measures -- and that the intensive phase of the development of local council bodies' autonomy will begin. This means that their independence in management and decisionmaking will be attained to an increasing degree. Their interest in, and responsibility for, the increasing and efficient use of material means will increase. Cooperation between the councils and units carrying out economic activity in their areas and the population -- cooperation based on common interests -- will be considerably strengthened in the course of the development of villages and towns. And, although most of the prerequisites for this are present, it is necessary to further improve them with regard to personnel, material and financial considerations. All these depend not only on the central bodies. The county councils, their officials, and other leaders also play a determining role in further increasing the independence of village and town council bodies.

VENTURE POSSIBILITIES FOR LARGE ORGANIZATIONS

AU051132 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 31 Aug 84 p 3

[Article by Katalin Bossanyi: "Expectations"]

[Text] Originally "Ventures" might have been a justified title for a report on the experiences of the first domestic conference on ventures organized last week by the Organizational and Management Scientific Association in Pecs.

This conference, which can be regarded as a successful venture in itself, carried out its goal of analyzing first of all the venture changes of the bigger organizations. It also provided a useful forum for debates, offering conditions for an exchange of the experiences of more than 1,000 gathered experts representing different areas of scientific life, industry, agriculture and commerce.

Reinterpreted Requirement

But the reason that our title changed from "Ventures" to "Expectations" is that at this conference a societywide expectation emerged with tremendous power concerning the interpretation -- or more precisely reinterpretation -- of the ventures' concept, operational area, and influence mechanism. This is why, beyond the daily and passing news value of the event, it is worth commenting about the arguments and counterarguments used and considering further what was heard.

Let us start with what customarily ends similar reports, the analysis of the proposals of the conference. From among the various regulatory, organizational, personnel, and educational proposals that contribute to the spreading of the ventures, we point out the conclusion with the concieness of an aphorism: "There is need for ventures, not expectations...." In summing up the series of meetings, which did not lack heated debates, this much was clearly said: It is true that the international economic environment is not entirely favorable for the comprehensive development of ventures; it is true that regulations and management sometimes produce opposing effects; it is true that the suitable organizational, interest, and personnel conditions have not yet emerged in every enterprise. Nevertheless, there is no point in waiting until more favorable conditions emerge from outside and from above. We must act without delay, because it is possible to stay in the market, to increase competitiveness, to become renewed today only with entrepreneurial behavior -- without regard to enterprise size and professional particularities.

This approach describes rather vividly the participants' strongly modified positions compared to their previous ones. Let us add that in the majority, the participants were made up of representatives of larger enterprises and cooperatives. We refer not only to the fact that the large organizations playing a determining role in economic life today consider it humiliating for the concept and conditions of ventures to be narrowed down only to the smaller organizations, but we refer also to the fact that, recognizing and appreciating the mobility and readiness of smaller organizations, the speakers at the conference particularly stressed that although entrepreneurial zeal and drive exist in large enterprises, at present it is not sufficiently strengthened by external pressure or self-interest. All this emphasizes once again that, in addition to the different types of small ventures that lately have been playing a big role in the economy's renewed activity -- and that will also increase in the future -- there is an indispensable need for working out and developing the entrepreneurial possibilities of large organizations.

A noteworthy fact in the conception of the leaders of large enterprises is that they interpreted ventures as the practice of independence, the test of quick adaptability, and a practice of independence, the test of quick adaptability, and a method of more democratic management. To a certain extent, they even equated ventures with efficient, successful management. Although the scientists present at the conference mentioned that combining management with ventures is not precise enough conceptually, this large enterprise approach is gladly welcomed because it is a sign of changes of mood and conception that have been taking place at enterprises. It also proves the recognition of the fact that, although the venture can in no way become a goal, it is nevertheless a rather useful and well-maneuverable method of enterprise management.

Risk-Taking Decisions

Closely connected to this is a debate significant from a social-ideological point of view and enriching the appearance of our socialism with new elements; the debate that emerged at the conference around the interpretation of the character, goals, and particularities of ventures encompassing the economy in its entirety. It was declared that, in the case of different ventures carried out in the socialist economy, socialist principles must assert themselves in the formulation of goals, in methods of implementation -- including increasing democracy in decision preparation and implementation -- and in the utilization and distribution of surplus profit attained. In a competitive situation, the main goal of ventures of enterprises operating under market conditions is to achieve bigger profits, and the first responsibility of the large socialist enterprise -- as expressed by several speakers -- is to increase its profits as fast as possible while correctly observing the rules. But needed for developing longer-term interest in profit-making in line with society's interests, are a tax system more encouraging than today's and the direct assertion of market influences in the sphere of large enterprises. With suggestive examples, they then proved that when in regard to different ventures we come across strange phenomena and unfavorable effects far from our socialist principles, these result primarily not from ventures as a form of economic behavior, but are the remnants of underdeveloped market conditions, monopoly conditions, andlimits on competition.

The current "semimarket" [felpiaci] situation also led to opposing views at the conference, mainly in the area of making undertakings and sharing size and proportions of profit and risk; and sharing size and proportions of profit and risk; several details of ventures in the framework of the socialist economy were pointed out. Several successful leaders of large enterprises pointed out that a venture always implies making decisions involving risks. The managers are forced to make these decisions first of all by the similar measures taken by their competitors. This entrepreneurial behavior emerges under the influence of external pressure. The managers' interest depends upon careful proportionate weighting between their risk-taking -- the subsequent possible losses -- and the size of the attainable profit. But even so, failure cannot be avoided in every case.

Need for Mutual Change

In our case, this can become a socially sensitive question because here the enterprising general manager risks not his own money but the assets of the state, of the community for which he is responsible. This is the basic reason for management-enterprise caution uncertainty, and sometimes distrust surrounding large ventures. All these, it was stressed at the conference, can and must be eliminated with a better founded preparation of enterprise decisions than at present, a better-trained leadership, and further democratization of management. But noteworthy progress can be achieved only if greater entrepreneurial readiness if followed by greater enterprise independence and responsibility, and if a part of the ownership rights can be exercised by the collective itself. In other words, the income of the entrepreneurial leaders and workers, following the successful measures, can increase proportionally with the surplus achievements. But in case of lasting failure, they would also really have something to lose. To achieve this, management and regulations must also change. The banks, for instance, should participate with risk-taking capital in the ventures, sharing the profits and the possible losses. It has also been emphatically expressed at the conference that for ventures to become a more general enterprise behavior model than they are today, there will be need for a leadership of different habits and training from many points of view.

There will be leaders who will be able to make changes and others who will not, and the leaders must face this in the same way as the new types of economic conflicts emerging from the market conditions and the strengthening of representation of interests.

Here it is proper to stop the enumeration of things heard at the conference because we have reached the point on account of which we mentioned the expectations in connection with the conference. We do not wish, of course, to generalize in the extreme on the basis of these impressions, since it is well known that those people who primarily go to such a conference are already participating in ventures or are responsive toward new possibilities from the outset. We nevertheless believe that we have not experienced an isolated phenomenon, that we can report not merely about the opinion of a narrow, foresighted enterprise circle. This is the very reason why the most important message of the conference can be summed up as follows: The representatives of the organizations present at the conference not only identified themselves with the concept of ventures but also recognized the advantages and disadvantages arising from this. They also summed up what urgent changes are needed within the enterprises, and what measures are expected from the upcoming reform of management and regulations. That is why we have great expectations regarding possible ventures. This is a helpful expectation.

FRG FINANCE MINISTER TALKS WITH OFFICIALS

LD061623 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Hungary and the FRG are equally interested in the expansion of economic relations and the establishment of modern, intensive forms of cooperation. This was stressed at talks in Budapest between West German Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg and Hungarian Deputy Premier Jozsef Marjai.

At the talks the development of economic cooperation between the two countries was reviewed and the importance of financial and banking contacts was underlined. The West German finance minister had talks with Finance Minister Istvan Hetenyi; Matyas Timar, chairman of the Hungarian National Bank; Bela Szikszai, chairman of the National Materials and Prices Office; and Janos Fekete, first deputy chairman of the National Bank.

The politician from Bonn visited the Babolna agricultural combine and the joint Hungarian-FRG enterprise Sicontact.

Gerhard Stolenberg left Hungary today.

KADAR RECEIVES VISITING RCP CC SECRETARIES

AU061213 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 5 Sep 84 p 1

[Text] On Tuesday morning, 4 September, in Central Committee headquarters, Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, received Ilie Verdet, member of the RCP CC Political Executive Committee, and Petre Enache and Ion Stoian, candidate members of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and secretaries of the Central Committee.

At the meeting, held in an open, comradely atmosphere, Janos Kadar expressed the MSZMP's readiness for the development of Hungarian-Romanian relations.

Present at the meeting were Gyorgy Aczel and Ferenc Havasi, secretaries of the Politburo, and Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee. Also present were Miklos Barity, Hungary's ambassador in Bucharest, and Nicolae Veres, accredited ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania in Hungary.

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At the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee, Ilie Verdet, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, and Petre Enache and Ion Stoian, candidate members of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and secretaries of the Central Committee paid a visit to Budapest from 2 to 4 September.

Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, received the RCP representatives.

Gyorgy Aczel and Ferenc Havasi, members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committee and Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Central Committee, held talks with Ilie Verdet, Petre Enache, and Ion Stoian.

At the talks, held in an open, sincere atmosphere, they informed each other about the implementation of the current tasks of the socialist construction in their country. They held an exchange of views on current issues of international life and on the socialist countries' efforts directed towards detente and safeguarding international security and world peace. They reviewed the development of Hungarian-Romanian relations, starting from the common tasks for the development of cooperation, decided upon at the meeting between Janos Kadar and Nicolae Ceausescu in 1977. It was stated that the Romanian minority in Hungary and the Hungarian minority in Romania play an important role in strengthening multilateral relations between the two countries. They agreed that, at a date to be decided later, they would continue the high-level Hungarian-Romanian interparty talks in Bucharest.

Ilie Verdet, Petre Enache, and Ion Stoian left Budapest on Tuesday evening, 4 September.

Messages Exchanged

AU041943 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1925 GMT 4 Sep 84

[Text] Budapest, AGERPRES 4/9/1984 -- On behalf of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party (HSWP), was conveyed a warm salute, and best wishes of prosperity and happiness to friendly Hungarian people.

Thanking, Janos Kadar asked that Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed a cordial salute, most sincere wishes of prosperity, good health and further successes at the helm of the party and the state, in his activity devoted to the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania. The exchange of messages was occasioned by the interview Janos Kadar granted to Ilie Verdet, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Petru Enache and Ion Stoian, alternate members of the Executive Political Committee, secretaries of the CC of the RCP.

During the talk which proceeded on the occasion, emphasis was placed on the two parties' and states' resolve to strengthen Romanian-Hungarian collaboration and friendship on the political, economic, technical-scientific and cultural plane, in keeping with the understandings convenanted at top level, in the interests of the two countries and peoples, of the cause of socialism, peace, security and collaboration in the continent and throughout the world.

Reference was made to the achievements multiple possibilities to develop bilateral relations offered by the two peoples' neighborhood and their steadily growing economic, technical and cultural potentials. [sentence as received]

Moreover, the need was also stressed to consolidate, in view of the current international conditions, foreign cooperation between the two parties and countries, to work in the future as well, for a lessening of world tension, a halt of the arms race and a passage to disarmament, to nuclear disarmament in the first place, for the building of security and cooperation in Europe and in the world, for a peaceful settlement, by way of negotiations, of all litigious interstate questions, for the building of a world of peace, understanding and collaboration.

The interview was attended by Miklos Ovari and Gyorgy Aczel, member of the Political Bureau, secretaries of the CC of the HSWP and Matyas Szuros, secretary of the CC of the HSWP.

The interview proceeded in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

SUMMARY OF TALKS DURING CHNOUPEK'S VISIT

AU051420 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Sep 84 p 1

[Text] At the invitation of Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs, Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, paid a friendly visit to our country from 1 to 3 September. The foreign ministers' meeting took place in Gyor. At their talks the foreign ministers exchanged views on the current state of Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations and further possibilities for their development, as well as on timely aspects of the international situation.

They concluded with satisfaction that cooperation between the Hungarian People's Republic and the CSSR is successfully developing in every area on the basis of common ideals, interests, and objectives and in conformity with the friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance treaty. Regular meetings between Janos Kadar and Gustav Husak and their joint pronouncements aimed at strengthening Hungarian-Czechoslovak cooperation are of outstanding significance in this favorable process. The foreign ministers expressed their conviction that the development of friendly relations between the two countries serves the interests of their peoples as well as the cause of the socialist community.

The foreign ministers concluded with concern that the international situation continues to be tense as a result of the policy of the most aggressive circles of the United States and NATO. The deployment of intermediate-range U.S. missiles in Europe has increased the nuclear threat to Europe. It is also disquieting that the current tense situation encourages the revanchist and militarist forces existing in the FRG, whose endeavors also endanger the cause of European security.

The talks between Peter Varkonyi and Bohuslav Chnoupek took place in a comradely and friendly atmosphere and reflected a complete identity of interest on all fundamental issues.

Bohuslav Chnoupek asked Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs, to pay a friendly visit to the CSSR. He accepted the invitation with thanks.

The Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs departed Hungary on 3 September.

VIETNAMESE FRONT DELEGATION DEPARTS AFTER TALKS

LD062253 Budapest MTI in English 1710 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Budapest, September 6 (MTI) -- The delegation of the Vietnam Fatherland Front, visiting Hungary since August 28 under the leadership of President Huynh Tan Phat, vice-president of the Council of State, left Thursday.

The delegation met Karoly Nemeth, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, Gyula Kallay, president of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front (PPF), and Rezso Trautmann, deputy president of the Presidential Council, and held talks with the negotiating delegation of the PPF National Council, headed by General Secretary Imre Pozsgay.

Members studied the work of the PPF, the regional and local people's front committees, the National Council of Agricultural Producer Cooperatives, and the World Federation of Hungarians.

The delegation attended the opening of an exhibition of photographic documents in Budapest on the national day of Vietnam, and a Hungarian-Vietnamese peace rally at Hajduszoboszlo, east Hungary. During the visit the fraternal solidarity of the Hungarian people with the Vietnamese people was repeatedly expressed.

SZUROS, DELEGATION GO TO PARIS FOR PARTY TALKS

LD061919 Budapest MTI in English 1035 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Budapest, September 6 (MTI) -- Matyas Szuros, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, and party delegation left Budapest for Paris Thursday on the invitation of the French Communist Party Central Committee. Delegation is to hold talks with leaders of the FCP and the French Socialist Party and attend the annual festivities organized by the French communist press.

LEADERS SEND MESSAGE ON SRV NATIONAL DAY

AU051355 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Sep 84 p 2

[Message of greetings from Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, Pal Losoncszi, chairman of the Presidential Council, and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to Le Duan, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV), Truong Chinh, chairman of the SRV State Council and Pham Van Dong, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, on the occasion of SRV's national day]

[Text] To Comrades Le Duan, general secretary of the CPV Central Committee; Truong Chinh, chairman of the SRV State Council; and Pham Van Dong, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers; Hanoi:

Dear comrades: On the occasion of the SRV national day, the 39th anniversary of the proclamation of the country's independence, we send you, the CPV Central Committee, the SRV State Council and Council of Ministers, and the friendly Vietnamese people comradely greetings and good wishes on behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidential Council and Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, and our working people.

The Hungarian communists and our people sincerely salute the achievements that have been attained by the Vietnamese people, under the leadership of their Communist Party, in the socialist transformation of society and the economy. As before, we are in solidarity with the struggle they are waging to defend and consolidate these achievements.

We highly value and support the SRV's foreign political endeavors and initiatives, which are aimed at strengthening peace and security in Southeast Asia and developing mutually beneficial cooperation among the countries of the area.

We are convinced that friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples will further strengthen on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism for the good of the cause of socialism, progress and peace.

On the occasion of your national day, we wish you and the Vietnamese people further successes in the accomplishment of the objectives endorsed at your party's fifth congress and in your responsible activity toward making your country prosper.

Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic; and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic

LOSONCZI's TELEGRAM TO LIBYA ON NATIONAL DAY

AU041418 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Sep 84 p 20

[Text] Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council, has greeted in a telegram Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the victory of the revolution, Libya's national day.

CHERNENKO INTERVIEW ON U.S. NEGOTIATIONS HAILED

AU061152 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Sep 84 p 7

[Zbigniew Lesnikowski commentary: "A Peaceful Voice From Moscow"]

[Text] Last week, the well-known Soviet political scientists Professor Georgiy Arbatov, while writing about USSR-U.S. relations, firmly rejected the Western view that the Soviet Union's stance toward the United States is connected with the American elections and involves a desire to harm Ronald Reagan. "This is not true," he said. "We are ready to hold constructive talks with any president, provided he and his administration really do want to talk." We find confirmation of this important thought in Konstantin Chernenko's latest interview for PRAVDA. "We have always been in favor," the Soviet leader stresses, "of serious and specific negotiations. It is from these positions that we approach the quest for solutions to existing issues, also with the p r e s e n t [as published] U.S. Administration."

Such a stance by the USSR 2 months before the American presidential elections proves that the Soviet side is not giving up making peaceful offers, not even when they are encountering more than ever before a wall of reluctance and hostility erected by the Reagan administration. It is not some sort of tactical considerations that determine the principled nature of Soviet policy and the will to seek peaceful solutions at any time, but a feeling of realism and joint responsibility for the fate of the world. Therefore, regardless of whom the Americans choose to be president in November, the USSR stance is consistent and clear: "I wish to confirm with all certainty," we read in the Soviet leader's interview, "our readiness for honest and serious negotiations aimed at finding accords which would take into consideration the security interests of all countries and peoples."

One should distinguish between three elements in Konstantin Chernenko's interview: first, sharp criticism of U.S. foreign and military policy. Washington lays claim, we read in the interview, "to being stronger than everyone else, to ruling the destinies of peoples, and to dictating its will to everyone and everywhere." Indicating the complete futility of such a policy, Konstantin Chernenko warns against its disastrous consequences and gives assurance that all plans for the United States to achieve military superiority are unfulfillable today.

Second, the Soviet leader recalls once again that both great powers "may settle issues only on an equal rights level, taking their justified interests mutually into account," and that "it is essential to proceed to a policy of realism, common sense, and business-like cooperation in solving tasks facing mankind." One cannot fail to notice in these words a rejoinder to the recently announced Republican program and to the American President's latest words which are deprived of realism.

Third, Konstantin Chernenko has returned to the still valid problem of negotiations concerning the nonmilitarization of space. Much of the interview is taken up by an analysis of Soviet thoughts on this subject, and the analysis is all the more worthy of attention because it contains the assurance that reaching an accord on this subject "would not only prevent an arms race in space, but also, and what is no less important, it would facilitate the solution to questions on how to limit and reduce other strategic armaments. "This," Konstantin Chernenko says, "I would particularly like to stress."

It is certainly no coincidence that this new peaceful voice from Moscow made itself heard on Saturday, 1 September, on the 45th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II. The Soviet leader's words are another warning. The date of this warning gives it the value of a reminder, based on the lessons of September, that world peace is the supreme value.

URBAN STATEMENT DENOUNCES KOHL 2 SEP SPEECH

LD061509 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Jerzy Urban, government press spokesman, has issued a statement in connection with the speech by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, delivered in Brunswick on 2 September at the rally of the so-called Union of Expellees, in which the chancellor referred to the issue of FRG-Polish relations. Polish society and the PPR Government, reads the statement, particularly because of the tendencies intensifying in the FRG which undermine the principles of the normalization process and question the European status quo, including yet again our western border on the Odra and Nysa Luzycka, expected that the FRG chancellor would adopt an unequivocal attitude on the matter of further shaping relations with Poland in accordance with international obligations resulting from the treaty between the PPR and the FRG of 7 December 1970.

We regret to say that in this context, the speech by Chancellor Kohl does not contain constructive elements; on the contrary, it repeated throughout the known stance of Bonn, containing one-sided interpretations of the abovementioned treaty, attempting to give it the character of a provisional agreement, and thus weakening the final recognition of the European status quo.

One cannot see constructive proposals in the speech which could mean a change in the attitude of the official representatives in Bonn to Poland.

In his statement, Jerzy Urban says that the Government of the PPR yet again confirms its readiness to continue the process of normalization of relations with the FRG, and the exclusive base for this process is the consistent observance and realizaton of the treaty of December 1970.

WALESA, OTHERS APPEAL FOR UNION FREEDOM

NC061939 Paris AFP in English 1935 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 6 (AFP) -- The leader of the banned Solidarity trade union Lech Walesa and 10 leaders of other independent unions have launched a new appeal to the government for union freedom as the "only way to emerge from the crisis" Poland is experiencing.

The declaration, which reached the Western press today, was dated August 31, the fourth anniversary of the Gdansk accords which briefly legalised Solidarity and led to the formation of other independent unions.

The 11 union leaders said it was their "duty as citizens and an obligation to those who elected them" to urge the re-establishment of free union rights.

The only way to "emerge from the crisis" and establish "national agreement" was to re-establish "real unions with complete freedom of formation and activity, based on the Polish Constitution, the conventions of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the August 1980 accords."

The declaration was the third since May 1982 to have been signed by Mr Walesa and other union leaders, and observers here saw its timing as a move to demonstrate to the government that not only Solidarity but other organisations which benefitted from the 1980 accords still wanted the accords to be honoured.

However, in the past few days, the new unions set up by the authorites in 1982 have made clear their opposition to the creation of independent unions, saying that a return to union pluralism would be an "unhealthy" development.

AUGUST 1980 WORKERS AGREEMENTS EXAMINED

Urban Views Accords

AU061417 Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish 29 Aug 84 p 3

[Jan Rem (pen name of Jerzy Urban) article: "Judging by Yourself -- Summer 1984"]

[Text] In 1984 we can view the events of August 1980 from a certain distance, enriched by experience, and search for answers to more general questions stemming from this experience. I will try to sort out my own thoughts about August 1980. I will not capitalize the first letter of August because I like to stick to correct spelling. [In Polish names of months are not normally capitalized]

The August accords continue to be opposed by some people, and that is why the first question should be: Were these people not right in believing that a compromise reached with Solidarity about socialism constituted an experiment that would end in disastrous results? The year 1981 ended in the introduction of martial law and in the suspension and subsequent dissolution of Solidarity, the activities of which deepened the economic crisis, weakened Poland's international position, threatened our state's security, and shook that great value called socialism. In light of this experience, was it not an error not to introduce martial law as early as 31 August 1980? Would not much evil have been prevented in this way?

Despite all subsequent events, I do not think that signing the August accords was an error. It was impossible to transfer the date of 13 December 1981 to 31 August 1980. Even if such an operation had been technically successful on 31 August, although I doubt it would have been successful, its results would have been disastrous or downright tragic and bloody. On 31 August 1980, any action from a position of strength would have elicited the opposition of an overwhelming majority of our people and of our party. Such an action would have constituted the strangling of the workers' thrust and of the entire community's hopes for better changes. It would not have been what it was on 13 December 1981, a measure against mad political extremists who were already greatly compromised in the eyes of the people. On 31 August 1980, confrontation would have been assumed by the compromised team, which lost its political game because it stuck to conservative interests. The action taken by this team against the workers' protest would have resulted in the deterioration of relations and in a new outbreak of discontent. On 13 December 1981, the situation in this regard was entirely different. Generally speaking, the very depth of the 1980 crisis indicated that Poland was bound to go through the 1981 experience in one way or another.

While the August accords were sheer necessity, although they triggered very bad events, perhaps force should have been used at an earlier date than December 1981 against the firebrand politicians at the head of Solidarity. Perhaps it should have been used in March 1981, after the Bydgoszcz events, when these politicians were themselves pressing for confrontation by proclaiming a general strike and attempting to take over power?

The introduction of martial law in December 1981 was approved and supported by two-thirds of our people. A large section of the remaining one-third was neutral. All this was because time was ripe for martial law. It was ripe for several reasons.

The Solidarity leadership had to lay bare its political image, disclose its aspirations, and do much mischief. Disappointment with Solidarty, fear of future, and boredom with Euphoria and constant confrontation were bound to come to a head within the party, the people, and Solidarity itself. Before they could show their fist, the authorities needed time to prove their good will and their readiness to sign accords and carry out reforms, which were being blocked by opponents. All means of accord and persuasion had to be exhausted before their ineffectivenss became obvious. There was nothing in this process that could have been speeded up.

The next question is: Was the disastrous development of the 1981 events already determined on 31 August 1980? Was Solidarity bound to establish the leadership it did, follow the disastrous policy it did, break the August accords, waste to some extent their results, and become a destructive force? It was not bound to do all that. The development of events had not been predetermined, not even at a time when Solidarity was penetrated by various counterrevolutionary streams, which gained great influence within it and were able to implement their program labeled. "The worse the situation in Poland is, the better for us." These forces believed that the spread of the crisis would make it easier for them to overthrow the government and change the system. We could visualize another course of events. For example, the basic political struggle for Solidarity's ideological program and image could have been waged within Solidarity itself. The symptoms of such a struggle within Solidarity appeared in the fall of 1980 and in the late winter of 1981. However, the PZPR forces within Solidarity were to small. We have to concede that our adversaries within Solidarity were victorious without waging a single major battle. That is why the field for the political battle between the Solidarity leading groups and the party, its political base, and state structures had to be chosen outside of Solidarity.

Frankly, neither in the fall of 1980, nor in the spring of 1981 did I share the frequently proclaimed belief that the independent trade union Solidarity, having let off steam, would adapt itself to socialist reality, would become a part of it, would gradually display readiness to talk and agree on various issues of importance for the country, and would base government and people-to-people relations on unceasing discussions and accords. In Solidarity I saw no dynamic force bent on reforms. I saw in it only a dynamic force bent on overthrow. Nevertheless, I was not against the August accords, because only the policy adopted by the ninth party congress was a rational policy, to which there was no reasonable alternative. I approached this policy without faith, but faith is useful in action, although it is not indispensable. [sentence as published] Besides, I thought as late as the fall of 1981 that Solidarity which was a temporary alliance of dissatisfied people, would automatically disintegrate. I assumed that an internal struggle would be unleased within Solidarity, and that this struggle would afford new political opportunities for the other side. I think that this would have taken place in time. However, the people, the country, and the state were no longer able to wait for such a disintegration and demise of that destructive force, because the disintegration of the economy and state structures was more rapid.

Another question, perhaps the most important one, that has to be asked in connection with the August accords is: Did the experiment with Solidarity end in fiasco because Solidarity represented a force with antagonistic goals and aspirations? Or is it perhaps that this fiasco has a wider dimension in that, by the very nature of things, our system is in conflict with bodies that have too much independence?

The opponents of the August accords will answer this last question in the affirmative. I take the view that if they do, they are at one in their thinking and, to some extent, in their ideology with the extreme adversaries of socialism, because their conclusion is that our system is incapable of reforming itself, not even on the scale of history.

The Solidarity leadership did not want any propitious changes which might strengthen socialism in Poland. All it wanted was to change the economic-political system. It thought that this could be achieved by intensifying the political and economic crisis. However, if Solidarity had not been run by leadership centers professing just such goals, it would still not have become a bearer of favorable reforms and a force that would encourage state authorities to follow advantageous lines and impart a favorable momentum to changes and reforms. No state and economic organism would have been able to withstand such rapid and radical changes as those for which Solidarity pressed. They would have been possible only in the course of a complete political coup. Moreover, Solidarity was a bearer of mutually contradictory and frequently irrational, utopian, or antiprogressive reforms, because it was inspired by a conservative doctrine.

Because of these and many other reasons, the bad adventure with Solidarity does not detract from the guiding idea of the August accords that is present in efforts to seek new development stimuli in new independent organizational entities. However, if the experiment is to be successful, there must be a community, and not an antagonism of goals. However, views on how these goals are to be achieved can differ. New independent entities may enrich and strengthen socialism if they share certain basic values with the leading political force. But not even a community of ideology has to be a condition for cooperation. The fiasco of coexistence with Solidarity coincided with the period in which coexistence with the Catholic Church, which is an entity with antagonistic aims, but which respects the basic interests of the state and the people, was gaining in strength. This means that coexistence is possible. It may be difficult, but it may last, however, fragmentary the accord on which it is based. August 1980 and the subsequent events were productive in this regard.

He who, on the strength of the experience with Solidarity, assumes that nothing must be changed in historically developed structures and mechanisms because a crash may ensue, acts against the historic success of socialism and seeks to deprive it of vitality and the ability of self-repair. He who drives a car without brakes and crashes, should not forever afterward drive a horse-drawn cart and claim that if he whips the horse with the necessary force he may find himself in space. Please forgive me this metaphor.

As an advocate of gradual, thought-out, tested, harmonious, rational, and feasible changes, including careful reforms that provide for withdrawal if necessary, I view the August accords as follows: They have produced new, valuable stimuli as well as good reforms which are durable, and advantageous political lessons which are bearing fruit. August 1980 also produced Solidarity, that is, a great threat, a considerable debasement of the economy and the state, and a morbid disarray of minds. However, all in all, August 1980 was a good period of time, because all is well that ends well.

Rakowski Interviewed on Accords

AU041532 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Aug 84 p 2

[Interview with Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski by PAP Executive Editor Janusz Roszkowski: "Dialogue With Society Is an Inseparable and Essential Part of National Accord"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Roszkowski: The fourth anniversary of the signing of the agreements in Szczecin, Gdansk, and Jastrzebie is passing. At the time of their signing, these agreements were generally regarded as an important event in the most recent history of our people and of the socialist Polish state. Has time not diminished the importance of these events? Or perhaps it has given them even greater importance?

Rakowski: Let us stick to the view that it was an important event which became the springboard for many important changes that took place and are still taking place in the social, economic, and political life of People's Poland. The agreements emerged during unusual conditions, in a climate resulting from a mass workers protest against the irregularities that occurred during the building of socialism. The workers class, as we have said many times, demanded more socialism, not less. It demanded more social justice and more respect for the honor of the working man, the creator of all material wealth. The weakness of the leadership of the party and state authorities was that they lost real contact with the workers class and working people, a contact based on mutual honesty and trust. In this situation, words departed from facts, and the ineffective social and economic policy was not what the people expected.

The loss of the abovementioned contact caused the deep crisis in confidence in the party and government. When assessing the agreements, however, one must not neglect the fact that the party correctly observed and assessed the causes of the workers protest, recognizing that the conflict that had emerged had to be solved by political means, and that lessons should be drawn from this conflict which would permit profound changes in the programs and methods of leadership. The party behaved in this way because dissatisfaction had been growing in the party ranks for some time about the social and economic policy of the leadership at the time. This dissatisfaction made itself felt during the internal party talks preceding the Eighth PZPR Congress. Indeed, the assessments made of the above policy were reflected in many demands incorporated in the agreements, as well as in other agreements signed during the post-August period. Finally, they were reflected in a more far-reaching and conclusive way in the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

Roszkowski: That is a positive assessment of the agreements, but we know that in addition to those who saw the agreements as the opening of a road leading to the repair and perfection of socialist socioeconomic relations, there were also those who decided to use the agreements to turn back the course of history and start a counterrevolutionary process. How do you assess this rift, which is still continuing today, from the perspective of 4 years time?

Rakowski: The stormy year of 1981 proved beyond all doubt that those who treated the three agreements, especially the Gdansk agreement, as a convenient platform on which to fight against real socialism, were dishonest at the very moment they were signing the agreements. For example, they spoke about a trade union, but they really meant an oppositional political movement. They said: "Now let us get down to work," and indeed they meant work, but not the kind of work that Poland needed. These are not idle assumptions. The development of events during the post-August period shows that this is how those persons who later formed the Solidarity leadership thought at that time.

As time went by, supporters of this organization also developed views and opinions that confirm what I said above. I have recently read an essay by some gentleman called "Reflections on the Attitudes of Policy Society," in which he admits that "conditions required a facade in the form of a trade union," This is an interesting admission, especially to the historian, but not only because a political struggle is being waged to this day around the agreements. Solidiarity's leaders and advisers have actually admitted in countless speeches, interviews, articles, and discussions that for them, the agreements and Solidarity itself were merely a first step toward and tool for carrying out political changes. They therefore signed the agreements, in this way declaring their intention to respect the socialist system, and gave assurances that they were being honest. But in fact their intentions were dirty. These intentions are illustrated by facts; in particular, by their plan to disintegrate the Polish economy for the purpose of causing even greater social dissatisfaction directed against the party and people's authority.

It is characteristic that a certain group of people in Poland, who were encouraging the political adventurism of the Soldiarity leadership and, what is more, providing this leadership with more and more intellectual inspiration and argumentation for combating the PZPR and the socialist state, are still maintaining to this day that the authorities should reach an agreement with society. By agreement with society, they mean that the authorities should admit that society is right, even though it is these people who caused the chain of events that was leading the Polish nation straight to disaster. From what I have said, it emerges that the abovementioned differences in the interpretation of the word "agreement" still exist, although they are certainly not the number one problem in our social lives today. Most of society is not interested in how one interprets the word "agreement," because they are concentrating on daily life and on People's Poland's future. This majority, which includes people who are neutral and even distrustful, desires social calm, the continuation of reforms that suit the ideals of socialism, transformations, and an efficiently functioning state and economic administration.

Roszkowski: Indeed, today we are in a situation characterized more and more by a sober outlook on the recent past and its consequences. Many of our fellow citizens are today assessing the country's recent fortunes in a more rational way than earlier, when their assessments were purely emotional. The present broad amnesty, which has, after all, opened the prison gates for those who caused or were accomplices in the evil of the recent past, and which shows the strength and good will of the people's state, is certainly commencing -- and this is the general opinion -- a new development stage in our crisis-torn country. Do you think that all those extremist leaders who have now regained their freedom will relinquish their antistate activity? Do you think they will drag others into their work?

Rakowski: Before I answer this truly important question, please let me say a few words about the amnesty. Our political adversaries and their Western supporters are trying to convince the public that Mr Reagan is the real father of the amnesty, as well as Western public opinion and anticommunists in Poland. They are trying to prove that the PPR authorities have bowed to pressure and have made concessions. This is a cheap propaganda ploy. Since 13 December, the government has proved beyond any doubt that every decision, ranging from the relaxation of the restrictions on citizens' liberties as a result of the martial law decree, via the suspension and abolition of martial law, up to the latest amnesty, has always been the result of a penetrating analysis of the country's political situation, the structure of forces, and so on.

To answer your question, it seems to me that most of the Social Self-Defense Committee [KOR] men and the so-called amnestied seven and their henchmen are testing the water, surveying the country, conducting opinion polls to discover how their friends think, wondering who could turn out to be their ally, and discussing further tactics and strategy. So far only a very few are behaving like skirmishers. These few are running into the arena, "pulling the tiger by its whiskers," and waiting for its reaction. We know from the press that citizens W. Frasyniuk, J. Rulewski, and S. Jaworski have been warned by the prosecutor's office about the consequences they can expect for attempting activity likely to violate the legal order and social calm.

From what I have said, it emerges that we must count on these persons continuing their antistate activity. Today we still cannot answer with complete certainty the question of what forms this activity will take. Please bear in mind that every form of struggle so far against the socialist state has not brought its expected results.

The underground publishing and other activity has not shaken People's Poland; the boycott of the new trade unions has not and is unable to hinder their development; the slogan "work like a tortoise" has been thoroughly ridiculed; the label "collaborator" has had to be thrown into the waste basket just like the saying "the winter is yours, but the spring will be ours"; the street disturbances and demonstrations did not find wider social support; and the concept of an "underground society," in other words, one which bases its views about Poland on the underground bulletins read out by "Free Europe," has also collapaed. In a word, every concept has been a failure. Therefore, now a new concept is under discussion. People involved in antisocialist and antistate activity are realizing it is useful to enter various legal structures with words of agreement on their lips and then dig the ground from beneath these structures. Their purpose is to enter these structures and dominate them! But this is not the end. A more traditional concept is still in existence, one which still counts on a confrontation with the socialist state. However, difficult to imagine that it will gain any wider support. On the other hand, one cannot fail to notice that the supporters of confrontation look to the church as a possible ally. Of course, there is no smoke without fire. The adventurist core of the opponents of socialism are placing their hopes in those priests who use churches to air views that have nothing in common with religion. It is with real regret that one has to say that there are clerics who thunder against communists and the policy of the party and people's state, who discredit this policy, and who often, in a very primitive way, distort Poland's history and glorify events and deeds which sow confusion and even cause hatred toward our neighbors and fellow Slavs. When one hears the words spoken from some pulpits, it makes one's hair stand on end. This activity has nothing to do with humanitarianism and the idea of national accord. We receive letters from believers who are outraged by the carrying out of politics in churches. I have such letters at my disposal. We also know of more than one case where KOR and Solidarity activists have been using churches for political speeches. Do they do this against the wishes of the parish administration? Knowing the hierarchical structure and traditional discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, it is difficult to imagine that every parish priest and vicar is independent. It is with unease that we observe the politicization of some members of the clergy, because this could cast a shadow on relations between the state and the church, and this of course we do not want. It is generally known that the people's state firmly respects the freedom of worship, and has furnished considerable evidence in recent years, in particular, that it wants these relations to develop in such a way that would benefit the country and society. I am not exaggerating the significance of these obvious distorations of the church's purpose, but if I pass over them in silence, this might be misconstrued. I also believe that the Polish clergy, most of whom are patriotic, tied to the Polish people, and accept our country's modern geographical shape and People's Poland's historic achievements, will oppose politicking inside houses of prayer and airing views that divide the nation, negate the past 40 years, and thus cancel out the effort of several generations and millions of people, views which also undermine faith in our future and sow the seeds of prejudice against nations close to us.

Roszkowski: Finally, let us return to the idea of agreement. This is still a subject of discussion and deliberation, but time does not stand still for the Poles. We must prove equal to the high and increasingly more difficult requirements of the day, which do not favor weak,thriftless, and internally divided societies. So, what next?

Rakowski: Agreement is not merely an idea or phenomenon. It is a real process, although we know that not every Polish citizen today accepts it. Therefore, let us not harbor illusions. During the present state of efforts to win social confidence, the country's political and state leadership regards as its goal the winning over of unconvinced people and the convincing of those standing on the sidelines.

How do we achieve this goal? -- only by creating facts from which it will be obvious that our faith in the program of socialist renewal is unquestionable. Is this an easy task? Nobody among us says it is. We have to overcome our own weaknesses, break age-old habits, and overcome our tendency toward arrogance and forgetting about the need to respect the honor of the working man.

The dialogue that exists certainly requires improvement and a constant seeking of new forms, as well as the creation of proper conditons for all those who stand on the sidelines and still bear various grudges. We are continuing dialogue not from the position of victors. We want to lead the country with society, not apart from it. The new, broad powers of the people's councils, trade unions, and self-management bodies; the increasing participation and role of nonparty people in political and social life; the multifaceted nature of consultation; the open way in which authority is exercized -- these are just some examples of the development and consolidation trend of socialist democracy. But dialogue also has its own platform and limits. These are formed by the PPR Constitution; hence the need to relinquish hopes of a possible repetition of the situation created by the opponents of socialism in 1981. Our country has paid too high a price for the long months of social and economic demagogy, hatred, strikes, and marches for us to risk a repetition of that dangerous period.

We are open to any constructive thought and initiative, to anything that serves the nation and strengthens socialist Poland. We are opposed to anything that harms Poland and disturbs the country's calm and industrious march toward a better tomorrow.

KISZCZAK ON WORK OF LAW, ORDER COMMITTEE

AU051359 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Sep 84 p 5

[Statement by General of Arms Czeslaw Kiszczak, PZPR Politburo candidate member, minister of internal affairs, and chairman of the Council of Ministers Committee for Observance of Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline]

[Text] A representative of PAP has asked General of Arms Czeslaw Kiszczak to supply information on the present results of the activities and on the immediate plans of the Committee for Observance of Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline.

Before I answer your basic question, C. Kiszczak said, I want to recall the reasons for setting up the committee. Many of these reasons are still valid, despite changing circumstances. They included a high degree of criminality, especially criminality against the safety of citizens, and a relatively low degree of discipline in various areas of our people's life. At the same time, the state bodies were not adequately trained in countering such negative features. All this made it necessary to take more stringent action in particularly threatened sectors.

It is impossible and undesirable to tackle everything at once. After all, consistently sorting our affairs in the more important sectors of life helps improve the situation in the less important sectors. For example, a better application of labor law helps fight waste, bad production, poor services for customers, and so on. The extent of the threat, the knowledge of the situation, and the available forces and resources, including the human potential, determine the choice of lines of action. I want to emphasize most strongly that social commitment, especially organized social forces, from the lowest organizational cells up to organizations with powerful impact, help to increase that potential to an enormous extent. Briefly, the social climate is of enormous importnace, and that is why we seek to increase social support for the entire program of the struggle for law and order in the country.

The committee has implemented a number of measures in line with the country's situation and needs and the people's justified demands.

It is difficult to talk about a breakthrough or some great improvements after a few months of the committee's existence, but I wish to state that some improvements have occurred in some sectors. This is primarily what people are saying, and we agree with them. It is most important that people are beginning to feel more secure, to note that some of their problems are becoming less acute, and to believe that it is possible to stem and effectively curb irregularities, abuses, profiteering, and other social plagues.

As you know, an intensive countrywide operation, code-named "Safe Rails," has been going on for some time to root out hooliganism, vandalism, and bad discipline on the part of users of the railroads, and to catch those who rob freight cars and railroad depots. The militia, law-enforcing bodies, and Polish railroad guards have carried out scores of such operations this year. They have checked over 103,000 premises of the Polish railroads, over 353,000 cars containing valuable mail and small cargo, and many thousands of passenger and freight trains.

These operations have revealed over 208,000 misdemeanors and over 1,000 major crimes, and have helped to improve the rule of law on the railroads. Passengers enjoy increased security, and freight is secured against theft. Of course, these improvements are not quite consistent with our efforts and public expectations. We still have a long way to go to achieve a good situation, but what is important is that the situation of the Polish railroads has begun to improve.

We will increase the intensity and consistency of our operations to keep order on the railroads in the near future, so that public interests can be properly safeguarded.

Another important sector of our operations is road transport by truck. Our task is to ensure that traffic rules are observed and, especially, to prevent the theft and waste of freight. Although we have registered some improvements in this regard, there is a great deal still to be done. For example, trucks continue to make trips without trailers (27 percent of the trucks we checked) or without loads on their return trips (18 percent of the trucks we checked). Every second enterprise is guilty of irregularities in filling out transportation forms, almost every second one of them is guilty of irregulatities in tire, battery, and spare-part economy. As you can see, these are glaring manifestations of waste and bad management.

Within days we will begin implementing the next phase of checking truck enterprises and will do all we can to ensure that truck transportation fulfills its basic tasks vis-a-vis the state economy.

Aside from the aforementioned operations, the committee continues to coordinate other activities and operations in order to improve the observance of law by the trade and fuel economy sectors and to ensure public order and safety in housing developments and streets. We continue these activities on behalf of the people and for their sake. We will be consistent in our decisions.

Checking selected sectors of the nonsocialized economy is one activity, which is being conducted effectively and militantly, just as other activities are.

As a result of our activities, within the past week alone we checked 4,311 premises run by the nonsocialized economy and instituted 734 penal-fiscal proceedings against almost 700 persons.

Fiscal bodies fined offending persons to the tune of over Z24 million. In addition, the property of other offenders, valued at over Z36 million, was confiscated; almost 900 persons were fined by out-of-court orders, and applications were made to the state bodies to withdraw trading licenses from 62 persons.

Against the background of these figures, I wish to recall once again that the problem of streamlining our economy, especially the flow of goods to shops, has been tackled by many important political and administrative decisions in the past 3 years. For example, the nonagricultural private sector has been recognized as an integral part of the national economy. The general purpose of the political decisions in this regard was to include the entire domestic market potential in the sphere of production and service. Since the main task in this connection was to ensure the flow of goods in short supply, necessary conditions were created for the favorable development of the nonsocialized economy's production and services.

To prove the point, let me recall that our data shows that in the past 3 years, the units of the nonsocialized economy have increased from 330,000 to about 430,000, its manpower has increased from 600,000 to almost 800,000, and its turnover has increased from about Z130 billion to over Z400 billion a year. These figures include 569 foreign enterprises concerned with small-scale production.

Unfortunately, life continues to supply much proof that some dishonest people in the private sector are using the opportunities for development and for making an honest penny to promote expansive and outright greedy activities calculated to get rich quick, at the expense of honest citizens and under conditions of crisis. This situation called for comprehensive counteractivities. Last April I issued orders to launch countrywide actions to check selected sectors of the nonsocialized economy. These actions fully confirmed earlier hints supplied by various communities and evaluations from state bodies to the effect that some representatives of the private sector ha made unjustified economic outlays, had engaged in unjustified organizational activities, had bcome much righer than previously, had obtained permits for economic activities by bribery and other illegal actions, and had contravened taxation regulations so that the inland revenue suffered crucial losses.

Evaluating the course of the operations in this sector, it is necessary to stress that the great commitment of the leading cadres and controlling teams has helped us to obtain telling results. Almost 50,000 nonsocialized economy establishments were checked, and almost 11,000 penal and penal-fiscal proceedings were instituted against over 12,000 persons. State bodies imposed fines amounting to about Z500 million on persons charged with fiscal offenses.

The property belonging to suspected persons and worth almost Z1 trillion was attached by the National Treasury for the purpose of eventual fines and other penalties. Almost 10,000 persons were fined in the course of administrative proceedings, 835 applications were made to the state administrative bodies to withdraw permits for economic activities, and 300 such applications were granted.

When I say that tangible results have been achieved in our checking operations to date, I have in mind more than just the figures. I have in mind the problems behind these figures, because they indicate that the fact that penal and penal-fiscal proceedings were instituted against 12,000 employees in nonsocialized trade and small-scale production has enabled us to halt, or at least drastically curb, illegal activities vis-a-vis the people and the state -- activities such as swindling citizens and the treasury and obtaining enormous illegal benefits. The 835 applications to withdraw economic permits represent activities aimed at permanently eliminating the cheating practiced by some units of the nonsocialized economy.

Our investigations show that public opinion has accepted the extent and procedures of our activities and that in some cases people even want severe punishment of dishonest traders and producers.

I wish to assure our people that our activites will continue and that we will not lack the necessary resolution and energy, because it is the public good that is at stake.

Responding to the public demands expressed in hundreds of letters addressed to the committee and in the speeches made primarily by representatives of the workers class during the National Conference of PZPR Delegates and the 16th Central Committee plenum, the committee will continue the aforementioned operations and will see with increasing effectiveness that the state bodies that are directly responsible for observance of the laws in those areas properly fulfill their duties.

We intend to tackle other legal issues, such as the performance of laws concerning labor, cooperatives, and combating social ills, and to evaluate the reasons for the poor performance of some penal measures.

We are also taking measures, mainly with the help of the Central Commission for Combating Profiteering, to radically reduce speculation in trade with industrial consumer goods.

Our committee will also launch many other operations aimed at ensuring that the laws function properly. For example, we intend to be more militant in combating swindlers when compensation is demanded from the State Insurance Bureau. The funds of this bureau belong to the people and should be used to compensate true and justified losses suffered by the people and not to make payments to swindlers. This bureau should combat such swindles and demand the restitution of the compensation sums paid to swindlers.

Working out effective measures against waste is still a serious problem facing our committee. We full realize that waste helps critically reduce the conditions of our citizens. Waste is not only the poor maintenance of machines and equipment, the poor storage of food, and the production of poor goods. Waste is also the poor use of machines and manpower.

This again presents the problem of whether the authorities should decree that there must be no waste. Such decrees are of little use unless people change their attitudes. Our people should realize that all these issues represent the basic interests of our society. No one will give us anything for nothing. Poland is a large country with some riches. It is only the honest efforts of all of us that will ensure the correct development of our society and state.

ADAM SCHAFF INTERVIEWED ON EXPULSION FROM PZPR

PM311241 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 29 Aug 84 p 11

[Interview with Polish philisopher Adam Schaff by Andrea Aloi in Vienna; date not given]

[Text] Vienna -- The news appeared at the end of June in TRYBUNA LUDU, the official organ of the Polish communist party [as published]. Adam Schaff, 71, one of the greatest Marxist philosophers of our time, had been expelled from the PZPR. These were the main "charges": having expressed opinions contrary "to the PZPR's assessments and lines of activity defined by the ninth extraordinary congress," opinions which "harm the process of consolidating the PRPZ"; having written about "idelogical and political issues of great importance to the party, especially in critical publications in the West, not within the party context."

Schaff had previously suffered an expulsion from the Central Committee. That was in 1968, at the height of a fierce controversy with certain party representatives over the issues of alienation and Marxist humanism, which had long been the center of the philosopher's attention. We believe it is entirely legitimate to assume that some of Schaff's analyses of the close link between Marxist thought and the central position of the individual greatly disturbed the most dogmatic guardians of orthodoxy. Indeed, it was not difficult to perceive how far the philosopher's thinking strayed in many respects from the kind of Marxism espoused by the PZPR in its official documents. Nevertheless, Schaff never openly opposed his country's authorities, either before or after that time. Indeed, in more recent times, following a favorable assessment by Solidarity, the scholar, according to rumors circulating in Warsaw, judged the state of war imposed by Jaruzelski on 13 December 1981 a "lesser evil" compared to a civil war or a Soviet intervention.

Thus the expulsion in June caused even more surprise, if that is possible. Our newspaper reported the grave measure, exposing the way in which the expulsion from the Polish communist party of an internationally known and respected scholar, well-known in Italy, too, demonstrated the persistence of a disciplinarian and dogmatic concept of the relationship between political commitment and scientific research. Of course we tried to find out more through Schaff himself, but he replied to our request, and those of othe journalists, with a quiet but firm "no comment."

Now, after 2 months, Schaff has agreed to answer some of our questions in Vienna, where he chairs the European Center for Social Research. Therefore, what follows is the first and only interview given by the great philosopher since his expulsion.

[Aloi] Professor Schaff, your silence has given rise to various conjectures in many different circles. You are a fairly well-known thinker, many people are acquainted with your books, and it is therefore inevitable that public opinion should wonder how the PZPR Control Commission could have taken such a grave decision. I will not conceal the fact that some people immediately thought you were remaining silent out of fear.

[Schaff] First, I would like to stress that it was certainly not out of fear -- there is no reason for fear -- that at that time I refused to give any reply or make any comment on the decision affecting me. The real reason for my behavior was the fact that I have been completely surprised by such an improbable decision, and there was then nothing I would add to my firm disagreement with it. It was not only an unjust decision contrary to the party's principles, but was also politically absurd, if you not want to attribute mere reactionary intentions to its authors.

[Aloi] But who decided to expel you? Who was really behind the whole "operation"?

[Schaff] It was not clear to me then and, worse still, it is still not at all clear to me. However, I am certain of one thing: It was another case of a power struggle within the party, a struggle which is tragic for Poland. I think that the group of so-called "hardliners" decided, against the wishes of the party leadership, to remove another intellectual who supported that leadership. The real target of this "operation" was the party leadership under Jaruzelski. Moreover, I exposed this strategy of attack by the PZPR's conservative forces in my book, "The Polish Lesson, Part Three," which was published in Vienna at the beginning of this year.

[Aloi] Are those who decided to expel you this time the same people who prompted your expulsion from the PZPR Central Committee in 1968?

[Schaff] Yes, generally speaking.

[Aloi] Professor Schaff, I would like to continue with the subject of your expulsion. The PZPR's announcement and TRYBUNA LUDU's article spoke essentially of violations of party discipline by you. What do you think of this?

[Schaff] I say that it is a completely unjustified accusation that should be regarded as no more than a pretext. The discipline of a Marxist party obliges the member to behave in accordance with the majority's decision, but it does not force him to abandon his own ideas and criticism of views he regards as false. Lenin himself said this when he called on party members to criticize mistakes in the party's activities. My actions in the past few years, as the party leadership is well aware, have been in complete harmony with the PZPR's line and interests. Moreover, nobody made any criticism of me from that viewpoint. The Control Commission was displeased only with the theoretical proposals I drew up and published on the causes of crisis phenomena in the communist movement, especially in Poland. This amounts to trying to forbid me to think. It is perfectly clear that this has nothing to do with a Marxist party's principles. Quite the reverse; it is a gross violation of them

[Aloi] What now? What do you intend to do?

[Schaff[What I have done hitherto. Essentially nothing has changed for me. I remain a Marxist and communist in my work. Official membership of a particular national party does not determine whether or not you are a communist

[Aloi] Prof Schaff, what do you now intend to concentrate on? Will you return to the problems of the philosophy of language, to theories of knowledge, or will you continue your research in the sphere of the problems of socialism?

[Schaff] We are living in a period of social conflicts and tensions which are taking increasing strong forms, in a period in which symptoms and phenomena of crisis in the communist movement in its traditional form are emerging with increasing clarity. So I say, is it conceivable for a Marxist philosopher, who is at the same time a political activist -- I would recall, by the way, that I had been a member of the party for 53 years -- to return to a "neutral" philosophical subject while all around him, so to speak, "the fire is raging?" In short, I will continue my analyses of the communist movement and its crisis phenomena, and at the same time I will continue my work on the social effects of the latest industrial revolution.

[Aloi] As an authoritative member of the "Club of Rome," you have shown an interest in the social consequences of the microelectronics revolution. A book of yours on the subject has even been published in Italy. In that study, you expressed the fear that an excessive concentration of knowledge could lead to new forms of authoritarianism. How will you develop this idea?

[Schaff] In my new book, "Where Are We Going?", in addition to returning to the foreseeable consequences of the microelectronics revolution in the social sphere and in the individual's life in the next 20 or 30 years, I also point to the problems of practical activity which the workers' parties and trade unions in the developed industrial countries will have to solve. It will be published in the spring of 1985 in various languages. I hope that there will also be an Italian translation.

The interview with Adam Schaff ended here. Many other questions could have been asked, but they will have to wait for another occasion.

SIWICKI, CZINEGE 29 AUG MILITARY RALLY SPEECHES

AU051702 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 30 Aug 84 pp 1, 3

["Summaries" of speeches made at 29 August Polish-Hungarian friendship rally in the Wroclaw Higher Mechanized Troop Officers School by General of Arms Florian Siwicki, PZPR Politburo candidate member and national defense minister, and Hungarian Army General Lajos Czinege, MSZMP Central Committee member and national defense minister.

[Text] Siwicki:

Speaking at the rally, General of Arms F. Siwicki said, among other things, that the Polish and Hungarian peoples are linked by a long-standing cordial and strong friendship dating to the beginnings of the Polish and Hungarian states. All our history, which was not without temporarily difficult moments, has confirmed that the cooperation between the Polish and Hungarian peoples, including military cooperation, has been fruitful. Polish-Hungarian friendship is rooted in the similar aspirations of the Polish and Hungarian peoples. The leading motive of these aspirations has always been the struggle for freedom, national identity, and state independence.

The friendship between our peoples, which has been forged throughout centuries, was subjected to an exceptionally severe test in the tragic years of World War II.

The victory over German fascism, for which the Soviet Army takes the decisive credit, and the liberation of Hungary and Poland by the Soviet Army with the participation of the Polish Army, F. Siwicki stressed, created external conditions for fulfilling the eternal aspirations of the Polish and Hungarian revolutionaries: the establishment of People's Poland and of the Hungarian People's Republic. The ideolgoical unity of our countries is responsible for the fact that our mutual relations, which have always been close and lively, have been transformed into cordial, friendly, and close cooperation in all spheres of social life -- from political, economic, and cultural affairs, through massive group and individual tourism.

The efforts to consolidate and develop our friendship and to strengthen the comradeship-in-arms between the Polish People's Armed Forces and the Hungarian People's Army, F. Siwicki said, are patriotic and internationlist duties of all generations of soldiers, because only together with all the fraternal countries allied in the Warsaw Pact is it possible to effectively strengthen our defense potential, oppose bellicose activities of world imperialism, and halt its militaristic drives. This is our primary task because peace is now facing extreme threats as a result of the confrontation policy followed by the United States and the NATO states.

Aware of our tragic experience of history, we Poles continue to watch whatever is taking place in Western Europe. As soldiers we know perfectly well against whom and against whose property and life the American missiles deployed in the FRG, Italy, and Great Britain are targeted. We also know that targeted against us -- primarily against Polish security -- are the revisionist and revanchist slogans proclaimed in the FRG quite officially and with the approval and support of high government officials in Bonn.

A sense of responsibility for the people's fates and the wish to ensure peace make us seek to intensify our defense efforts. Poland and the Polish Army, which are faithful to the ideals of socialism, will continue to make the necessary contribution to the defense strength of the socialist community and to enhancing the power of the Warsaw Pact, the basic element of which is the missile-nuclear power of the Soviet Army. We will persist in our efforts to strengthen the cohesion and unity of the socialist defense alliance, which is the decisive factor in preserving peace and security.

Czinege:

Discussing history, L. Czinege stressed that our forces supported each other when fighting for national independence, social progress, and freedom on several occasions in the past. He said that those Hungarians were the best sons of the Hungarian people who, obeying the voice of conscience and honesty, were equal to their tasks in fighting for Poland in Kielce and Krakow Voivodships, the Warsaw uprising, Wroclaw, and other places. The Hungarian working people, and the soldiers of the Hungarian People's Army continue to watch with unflagging attention the Polish people's well-known struggle for social gains and socialist construction. We are all sincerely pleased with your achievements in constructing a new society and in defending your fatherland, L. Czinege said. We are pleased with this and we know that our comrades-in-arms -- the fraternal Polish People's Armed Forces -- have played and are playing their basic role in defending socialist achievements, in promoting consolidation, and in implementing the tasks that help construct a new society.

L. Czinege said historic changes took place in the life of the Hungarian people in the past 40 years. Like the Polish people, he said, the Hungarian people respect their historic achievements and continue to defend them as the apple of their eye. Today, when the international situation continues to be increasingly aggravated, we need even more consistent efforts to defend peace and our people's security.

The extremely militaristic circles continue through their policy to increase the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, which may annihilate mankind. The forces responsible for their peoples know that preserving peace is now the most important task. The MSZMP and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic speak for their people when they condemn the policy of the aggressive imperialist forces. Together with the fraternal socialist countries we continue to consistently struggle to ensure that the disputed issues of international policy are solved by respecting the mutual interests and security of the sides.

L. Czinege stressed that it is in the interest of all the peoples in Europe to ensure that the policy of revenge and militarism does not return.

Together with the armies of the fraternal socialist countries, and at the side of the Soviet Army, the Hungarian People's Army is able under all conditions to fulfill its task of guaranteeing peace and international security.

CSSR FOREIGN MINISTER BEGINS TALKS WITH OLSZOWSKI

Chnoupek Arrives 6 Sep

LD061312 Warsaw PAP in English 1118 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Warsaw, Sep 6 -- Bohuslav Chnoupek, the Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, arrived here today. The Czechoslovak guest was greeted at Warsaw's airport by his Polish counterpart, Stefan Olszowski, at whose invitation he is now visiting this country.

The two ministers are going to hold plenary talks, and Minister Chnoupek is moreover going to meet representatives of Poland's state authorities.

The visit is expected to promote further tightening of friendship and cooperation between Poland and Czechoslovakia and to be another vital link in strengthening mutual relations between the two brotherly countries.

[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1700 GMT on 6 Sep 84 adds: "Minister Chnoupek laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and signed the visitor's book."]

Ministers Discuss Cooperation

LD070419 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR foreign minister, has begun his official friendly visit to Poland. Our Warsaw correspondent Pavel Kopecky reports:

The foreign ministers, Bohuslav Chnoupek and Stefan Olszowski, informed each other about the internal situation in their countries. They exchanged views on possibilities of further all-round development of CSSR-Polish relations. They also assessed the topical issues of the international situation. During the talks, Bohuslav Chnoupek praised the positive results achieved during the process of consolidation in the PPR. The two ministers agreed in describing the development of mutual relations as exceptionally important. They said that widening and deepening cooperation is an important tool of coordination, of further strengthening the unity, closeness, and defense ability of the Warsaw Pact countries and CEMA.

In discussing foreign political problems, Bohuslav Chnoupek and Stefan Olszowski pointed to the fact that the current deterioration of the world situation is caused by the efforts of imperialism, led by the United States, to achieve military superiority over socialism. The two ministers condemned the attempts of imperialism to wage a crusading campaign against socialist countries. This includes activization of revanchist forces working against the postwar division of Europe. These forces make demands against Poland and the CSSR, and do not recognize the borders between the GDR and FRG.

In assessing the possibilities for averting the danger of nuclear war, they underlined the importance of a unified and coordinated line by the Warsaw Pact countries. The visit of Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR foreign minister, is continuing tomorrow.

International Issues Viewed

LD071022 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0730 GMT 7 Sep 84

[Text] Here is a report from Warsaw by Pavel Kopecky on Polish reaction to the current visit to Poland by Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs:

[Kopecky] In view of the increasingly complicated and dangerous situation in the world, it is the international issues discussed that have become the center of attention of political observers in Warsaw. Comrades Chnoupek and Olszowski pointed out the fact that the worsening of the international situation is due to imperialist attempts to gain military superiority over socialism and noted that a further aggravation occurred after the deployment of the American medium-range nuclear missiles, first-strike weapons, in Western Europe.

For several weeks now the new wave of revanchism in the FRG has been the subject of critical assessment in the Polish press, radio, and television. All Polish central dailies today published the official Polish Government's stand condemning it. Naturally, the dangerous policy of West Germany's extreme right was among the topics discussed. Comrades Chnoupek and Olszowski agreed in describing the galvanization of the revanchist forces -- forces opposing the postwar set-up in Europe, advancing territorial claims against Poland and the CSSR, and who do not recognize the borders between the GDR and the FRG -- as part of the imperialist crusade against the socialist community.

LEADERS GREET SRV OFFICIALS ON NATIONAL DAY

AU051059 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Sep 84 p 1

[Greetings message from Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski and State Council Chairman Henryk Jablonski to SRV party and state leaders on SRV national day]

[Text] To Comrade Le Duan, secretary general of the Vietnamese Communist Party [CPV] Central Committee; Comrade Truong Chinh, chairman of the SRV State Council; Comrade Pham Van Dong, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers; and Comrade Nguyen Huu Tho, chairman of the SRV National Assembly, in Hanoi:

On the occasion of the SRV national day, we send you, dear comrades, the CPV Central Committee, the State Council, Council of Ministers, SRV National Assembly, and the fraternal Vietnamese people, sincere greetings and warm wishes on behalf of the Polish people, the PZPR Central Committee, State Council, and Council of Ministers of the PPR.

During the past 39 years, the Vietnamese people, under the leadership of the CPV established by Ho Chi Minh, have carried out radical, sociopolitical transformations and fought for and defended their country's independence during a struggle against French colonialism and American imperialism that lasted many years and led to the unification of the country. Great are the Vietnamese people's achievements in building a socialist society and improving their fatherland's sefense capability in the face of threats which still exist.

The SRV's consistent and peaceful foreign policy and the joint initiatives with the Lao People's Democratic Republic and PRK aimed at guaranteeing peace, stability, and good-neighborly cooperation in Southeast Asia, enjoy the recognition and support of the socialist community and of forces of peace and progress in the world.

We state with profound satisfaction that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries and parties, based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, are becoming increasingly close. This fully suits the interests of both our countries and of peace and socialism in the world.

On SRV national day from the bottom of our hearts we wish the fraternal Vietnamese people further success in performing the tasks laid down during the 5th CPV Congress, in consolidating the independence and sovereignty of the fatherland, and in the struggle for the peace and security of nations.

Please accept, dear comrades, sincere wishes for personal success, as well as for success in your honorable work for the good of the Vietnamese people and of socialism.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers; Henryk Jablonski, State Council chairman

JARUZELSKI SENDS CONDOLENCES ON KOSTANDOV DEATH

LD061933 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] In connection with the death of Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Leonid Kostandov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers General Wojciech Jaruzelski has sent a telegram of condolences to Chairman of the USSR Ccouncil of Ministers Nikolay Tikhonov.

PZPR FIGURES RECEIVE LEADING RAILWAYMEN

LD052137 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 5 Sep 84

[Excerpt] To mark Railwayman's Day, a group of the best Polish State Railways [PKP] employees were invited to the headquarters of the PZPR Central Committee.

The railway aktiv was met by Kazimierz Barcikowski and Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak. They talked about the rail industry's most pressing problems, about the working and living conditions of the half a million-strong work force of the largest enterprise in Poland, the PKP, and about the problems of their families. Much attention was devoted to the action taken by railwaymen to promote housing construction. The initiative taken by PKP employees, the first in the country to make a pledge benefiting their milieu, was assessed highly. A report on its implementation was handed over by Franciszek Urbaniak from the PKP junction in Lublin. Throughout the country, 12 million working hours have been put in on railway property, and the total value of the pledge was Z122 million.

LI XIANNIAN VISIT ADDS TO STRENGTHENING RELATIONS

AU051317 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Aug 84 p 6

[Dumitru Tinu Article: "Under the Sign of Lasting Friendship and the Joint Desire to Expand Romanian-Chinese Comprehensive Cooperation"]

[Text] The durability of feelings of mutual esteem and regard between the Romanian and Chinese peoples and of the bright and long-standing traditional relations of friendship and solidarity between the RCP and CPC and between Romania and the PRC, as well as the joint desire to expand cooperation in the socialist construction and in the struggle for world peace were further reiterated during the state visit paid to our country, at Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's invitation, by Comrade Li Xiannian, member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee and PRC president.

The new Romanian-Chinese summit took place at a time when the Romanian people were marking the 40th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation; the very presence of the Chinese party-state delegation at the Bucharest festivities has demonstrated the profoundness of the ties between our countries and peoples. As was stressed during the meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, our party and state value highly the talks between Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Li Xiannian, which through their fruitful results have made a new and outstanding contribution to strengthening friendship and cooperation between our parties and peoples and the overall cause of socialism and peace.

It is well known that the dynamics of this great friendship lie in the relations of cooperation and solidarity between the RCP and the CPC -- the political forces that lead the destinies of the two countries -- which have made the comprehensive development of Romanian-Chinese friendship and cooperation into one of their constant concerns.

As was stressed on that occasion, too, a decisive and vital role in this respect is played by meetings and talks at the level of the two party-state leaderships; each of these meetings has concluded with decisions and agreements that have opened up broad prospects for strengthening and expanding relations between our parties and countries and between the Romanian and Chinese peoples.

"One can say that the high level of relations between our parties and countries," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said in his toast at the official dinner in honor of the high-ranking guest, "is the result of joint efforts and endeavors made over the years by both our parties, countries, and peoples. This requires us to continue to do everything to ensure that these relations expand ceaselessly, to the benefit of both our peoples and in the interest of the cause of peace and understanding throughout the world."

In his turn, Comrade Li Xiannian said on the same occasion: "The Chinese party and people highly value the Chinese-Romanian friendship and are determined to continue to work to steadily develop and strengthen the close relations between us. We are firmly convinced that the ties of friendship and cooperation between the parties, countries, and peoples of China and Romania -- ties that are characterized by great vigor and vitality -- will further develop and be fruitful, to the benefit of our countries' peoples and in the interest of the cause of world peace and the progress of mankind."

The Romanian-Chinese summit talks, which were held in an atmosphere of ware friendship and understanding, gave rise to a mutual exchange of views on the activity and concerns of the two parties and countries.

The important Chinese guest, who had visited our country before, highly valued the great achievements of the Romanian people under the party leadership in promoting their fatherland's socioeconomic development and in raising the material and intellectual standards of living.

Our country is also aware of, and highly values, the broad activity carried out by the Chinese people under CPC leadership to turn China into a powerful socialist state, with an economy undergoing a process of full development and modernization and with an increasingly high standard of living.

The positive evolution of relations of friendship, militant solidarity, and close cooperation between the RCP and CPC and between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the PRC gives us great satisfaction. The cooperation between our countries in various fields is undergoing continuous development. Both sides are convinced that the important progress made by the two countries and their future development programs offers opportunities for expanding this cooperation, in the spirit of talks and agreements reached at high level. Proceeding from this reality, the recent talks in Bucharest highlighted the determination of Romania and China to work to develop cooperation, particularly in the economic field, under mutually advantageous conditions, by expanding trade exchanges and increasing production sharing on the basis of long-term agreements and understandings.

During these talks, the two sides also examined key topical aspects of international life. The exchange of views emphasized the two countries' concern with the unprecedented global tension. The intensification of trends to maintain and redivide spheres of influence, the promotion of a policy of force and threat of force, the persistance and escalation of certain conflicts as well as the emergence of new ones, and the scope of the arms race, particularly nuclear, have increased the danger of a new world war, which under current circumstances would be bound to turn into nuclear war, thus leading to the destruction of the whole of civilization and of the existence of life itself on our planet.

The talks drew particular attention to the serious situation in Europe created by the deployment of U.S. intermediate-range nuclear missiles and the start of the implementation of USSR nuclear countermeasures. Romania and China believe that everything should be done to halt these actions and resume the negotiations between the USSR and the United States, with a view to reaching an agreement conducive to removing intermediate-range missiles and all nuclear weapons from the continent and building a lasting system of security and cooperation in Europe.

Consistently advocating the elimination of force from international relations, Romania and the PRC have again stressed the need to work to solve politically -- through negotiations -- the states of conflict and war in various parts of the world, to the benefit of the respective peoples and in the interest of international peace and stability.

In considering the great problems confronting mankind, Romania and the PRC pay particular attention to eliminating underdevelopment and the gaps between poor and rich countries. During the talks, the sides pointed out the need for urgent measures such as finding a general solution to the problem of the developing countries' foreign debt, which has reached about 800 billion dollars; limiting the interest rates and restructuring the world financial-banking system; and placing economic relations between states on equitable bases. All these measures are indispenable steps along the road to establishing a new international economic order. Both sides believe that in this respect great importance lies in strengthening the solidarity and cooperation of developing countries to establish a joint strategy in talks with the developed countries and to consolidate their economic and political independence.

Proceeding from the fact that their positions are identical or very close concerning ways and means to solve the great problems facing mankind, Romania and the PRC further reiterated their determination to intensify their international cooperation in order to promote the aspirations for peace, independence, and progress of all nations.

The Romanian people highly value the friendship and cooperation with the people of the PRC. Public opinion in our country believes that the latest Romanian-Chinese summit will make a new and important contribution to strengthening the traditional friendship between the RCP and CPC and between the two countries and peoples, to the benefit of the progress of socialist construction in Romania and in the PRC and in the interest of the cause of socialism, peace, and cooperation throughout the world.

CEAUSESCU GREETS AL-QADHDHAFI ON NATIONAL DAY

AU051511 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Sep 84 p 6

[Text] To His Excellency Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the 1 September Great Revolution of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah

Tripoli

The anniversary of the revolution day offers me the pleasant occasion to convey to you, on behalf of the Romanian people and on my own behalf, warm greetings and most sincere wishes for health and personal happiness, and new successes on the road of progress and well-being for the friendly Libyan people.

I express my conviction, that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries will continuously develop in the interest of the Romanian and Libyan peoples and for the cause of international peace and security.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

ENACHE MEETS ZIMBABWEAN URBAN PLANNING MINISTER

AU061919 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 6/9/1984 -- On September 6, Marin Enache, Romanian deputy prime minister, received Enos Chikowore, minister of the local government and urban planning of Zimbabwe, who had paid a visit to Romania at head of a delegation.

During the interview, the ascending course was highlighted of Romanian-Zimbabwean relations, that are continually developing and diversifying, in keeping with the understanding covenanted at top level. The wish was underscored to work for the deepening of bilateral relations, in the interests of both countries and peoples.

During their visit to Romania, the Zimbabwean delegation met with the chairman of the Committee on Questions of People's Councils' Affairs, Teodor Coman, when they exchanged information on the economic, urban development and administration and the sociocultural activity of the local state administration bodies in the two countries. The guests met also with representatives of the people's councils executive committees from Bucharest and Brasov Municipalities and from the town of Cimpina.

SPILJAK: SOME CRITICS SHOULD BE CALLED TRAITORS

AU051728 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Sep 84 p 2

[Report on speech by Mika Spiljak, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Croatia, at festive session of the Workers Council in the Duga Resa Cotton Mill in Duga Resa on 1 September]

[Text] In the difficult conditions that we have today, as well as in every similar situation, it always happens that various dissatisfied people and enemies in the country raise their heads, very frequently supported and encouraged from abroad. They believe that they can use the difficulties for their hostile goals. They will be mistaken, just as they have always been mistaken in the past. The number of critics of our socialist society and of our self-managing socialist pratice has increased. What is involved here is pretty much a purely anticommunist and antisocialist line and activity, and we must bear this in mind. There are many rumors of different hues and tendencies and different approaches in criticizing; and there are attempts to criticize everything in our country now. Our society, particularly the LC, the trade unions, the Socialist Alliance, and other forces must have a good ear to recognize when this criticism reflects a common concern for the roads of our development, and when it has antisocialist and anticommunist goals. The LC is not and must not be against criticism. It must constantly encourage a critical spirit to assess and evaluate everything that is being done, achieved or not achieved, not excluding itself from criticism, but also not depriving itself of the right to criticize what is not good and what is not on a self-managing and socialist line. Accordingly, criticism is not and cannot be a profession, or a privilege, but rather it is the right and duty of all working people, it is the way of their practical self-managing activity.

Recently critics have appeared who link their platform of criticism with the political interests of various antisocialist forces and reactionary circles in the world. Some of them do not hide their goals, that the real aim of their criticism is to destroy our self-managing socialist society. If such a criticism is involved, a criticism with this intention -- and also people are appearing today, raising their heads thinking that their time has come because of economic difficulties -- then this must be called by its proper name. The people call this treason, and there can be no negotiations or compromise with traitors. We must talk with them as we do with traitors. No matter to what extent they may hide behind phrases about freedom, they in fact seek scope for action in the interest of somebody else, and not in the interest of their people and their country.

ASSESSMENT OF INTERESTS KEY TO DISARMAMENT

AU061452 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Sep 84 p 2

[Second and last part of Dobrivoje Vidic article: "Reflections on War and Peace: in Connection With Latest Bloc Aggravations"]

[Excerpts] The policy of hegemony constitutes the greatest obstacle to the opening of the process of successful international negotiations on disarmament. Considering the pronounced presence of such a policy (by both large and small hegemonists) in international relations, it is difficult to expect that serious negotiations on disarmament will be conducted, because the sides in the negotiations do not bear in mind only "disarmament for the sake of disarmament" (which is natural, but try to read this as "for the sake of peace in the world," which may sound naive to you!), but they also bear in mind the side effects in all other fields of relations. Real interests of security, as well as these "other interests," are objectively present and naturally must be taken into account.

In this world, imperfect as it is, it is indispensable to protect the national security of countries. Every nation has the right and need to cultivate this security as it best sees fit. After all, one cannot expect the peoples of the USSR to forget that they gave 20 million lives for victory over Hitler, and they will not consent to again fall into an inferior position against anybody. The people in Great Britain cannot forget how they were almost defenseless facing Hitler's aggression, and so on and so forth. It is legitimate for all the countries in the world to show a certain care for the justified interests of their own security. But when these limits are overstepped, when armament becomes a means for realizing hegemonistic, so-called ideological, and other interests, which have nothing in common with care for the actual security of the country, answers must be found to the basic question: Where does this lead and what does all this mean for the security of others and for the common fate of people? International negotiations conducted on the basis of objective assessments of armaments are capable of setting the limit correctly and reducing the countries' armaments to an ever lower level only when political will to go along this road exists and prevails.

Bearing in mind the ideological coloring of the discussions conducted about world problems, as well as the Marxist truth that we still live in a historical period of intensive class struggle, it can be confidently asserted that the vision of international relations presented by the Nonaligned Movement is in fact the one offering optimum prospects for mankind. Based on the policy of active peaceful coexistence among states with different social and political systems, this vision can successfully find solutions for the most prominent problems of the present, without war and threats of force, on the basis of constructive international negotiations. This is the only way to strengthen and enhance confidence in the world that will accelerate the process of solving the disarmament problem in our time, and in turn this process will exert a tremendous feedback effect on the strengthening of this confidence as an objective force in future human endeavors.

The level of development of production forces which we have reached, especially in the field of arms and armament, and tremendous possibilities of new flowering of human life and interhuman relations, make us able to say that nowadays common interests of peoples exceed ideological differences of all kinds and differences that are imposed by the very systems under which peoples live. Basic worldwide economic trends, especially in technology and technological development, data processing, and other fields which increasingly link the world as a whole, objectively and forcefully show that this common interest of peoples, which is expressed precisely through the worldwide nature of these basic trends, has every chance of prevailing as the future course of development, but progressive forces must resolutely strive in its favor.

Bearing all this in mind, it is necessary to point out that the USSR has no monopoly on the ideas and practice of socialism, nor does the United States have a monopoly on the cause of a "better way of life." It is an illusion to think, and it is very dangerous to think, that the contemporary ideological struggle between the world of labor and the world of capital is in fact being waged between the two military political blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, for this struggle is present everywhere, in the East and in the West, in the North and in the South, as a real contradiction between progressive and regressive currents of social development, taken in the widest possible sense. Therefore the class (ideological) struggles of the present time cannot be solved or resolved through world confrontations of the blocs and their weapons.

Here lies one of the main reasons for the world's need of a reaffirmation of the policy of active peaceful coexistence which stimulates cooperation among countries with different social systems and opens up free space for the struggle of the internal forces of progress and regress without the danger of military solutions being imposed from outside.

Seriously solving these pressing tasks of the present is not a question of displaying any special wisdom or skill. It is exclusively a question of justified or erroneous assessments of national and class interests, especially in the countries which in this respect can make the greatest contribution to successfully solving these tasks or, in the opposite case, can inflict the most damage upon the world and upon themselves if their assessments do not correspond to national and general people's interests. It is a matter of political will. Therefore, of course, one must appeal to the civilized responsibility of the people in the decision-making institutions of all UN member-countries. One must conduct a tremendous, organized, public struggle of national and international dimensions in order that this responsibility may prevail and that the broadest interests of human existence, development in freedom, and progress under peaceful conditions of the broadest international intercourse may gain the upper hand in the age of nuclear weapons.

KOSOVO COMMISSION AGAINST EMIGRATION VISITS PEC

LD051635 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1245 GMT 5 Sep 84

[Text] Pec, 5 Sep (TANJUG) -- A delegation of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber, led by Vjekoslav Vidjak, chairman of the Committee for Justice, within the framework of its 2-day visit to the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, was in Pec today. Accompanied by Tomislav Sekulic, vice president of the Kosovo assembly, and Refki Agaj, chairman of the provincial commission to halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, the delegation had talks with the leading people of the municipality in implementing the measures of the chamber to halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

Informing the members of the delegation about this problem, the representatives of the Pec municipality stressed that the process of emigration, despite abating, still continues. This is also proved by the information that, since 1981, 1,137 individuals and 93 families have emigrated. However, in the same period, 55 families came back and the number of those returning is constantly growing. A restrictive factor for the return of a greater number of emigrants, it was stressed, is also the impossibility of employment. The political security situation is described as considerably better, but a warning was sounded that the perfidious activity by Albanian nationalities and irredentists is still in evidence.

As the most recent examples of their activity, two cases of rape in the villages of Ljubovac and Belo Polje, burning down the fence on the estate of a Serbian national and stoning of a nun of the Pec Patriarchate were mentioned. All these cases, whose perpetrators have on the whole been detected, create an atmosphere which encourages the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins.

In the talks, the work of justice organs in implementing the legislative provisions, the punishment policy and the resolution of the property-legal relations were also discussed. The delegation of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber then toured the Dusan Mugosa Agricultural-Industrial Combine, which employs about 1,370 workers, the Pec Patriarchate and the Gorazdevac local community.

CROAT PERSONAL INCOMES RISE, REAL INCOMES DROP

LD040112 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1008 GMT 3 Sep 84

[Summary] Zagreb, 3 Sep (TANJUG) -- In the first 6 months of this year, average personal income in the SR of Croatia amounted to 21,839 dinars, an increase of 38.8 percent over the same period last year.

However, the personal income growth rate is lagging considerably behind increases in the costs of living so that the real income of average personal income is still falling. According to the indicators released by the Republican Statistics Institute in the first half of the year the real value of average personal income in Croatia dropped by 9.8 percent compared with the same period last year.

DJURANOVIC TALKS WITH GUINEA-BISSAU'S VIEIRA

LD070559 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2105 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Belgrade, September 6 (TANJUG) -- The overall international situation is complex due to bloc contradictions and confrontation and it, as such, calls for a broader engagement of the non-aligned countries in solving problems which burden international relations.

The above was emphasized in the talks between Presidency of Yugoslavia President Veselin Djuranovic and Guinea-Bissau State Council President Joao Bernardo Vieira here tonight, Thursday. President Vieira arrived in Belgrade today, after spending a few days on the Yugoslav islands of Brioni on a holiday.

Djuranovic and Vieira exchanged views on foci of crises, the Middle East, the Iran-Iraq conflict, the situation in southern Africa and other questions.

They assessed relations between Yugoslavia and Guinea-Bissau as very good and moving along an upward line. It was mutually assessed that considerable possibilities exist for developing bilateral cooperation, especially at the economic level, which will be further discussed during the stay in Yugoslavia of the high-ranking guest from Guinea-Bissau.

After the talks, which lasted two hours, the Yugoslav State Presidency president offered a dinner in honour of his guest. At the dinner, Djuranovic and Vieira exchanged toasts in which they stressed the two countries' interest in expanding their friendly cooperation. The Guinea-Bissau president will continue the exchange of views with Yugoslav officials tomorrow.

DJURANOVIC RECEIVES LIBERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER

LD062008 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1129 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Sep (TANJUG) -- Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received Ernest Eastman, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Liberia, who is in our country at the invitation of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. Foreign Minister Eastman conveyed a message from Liberian President Samuel Doe to President Djuranovic.

During their friendly conversation the two sides talked about the further promotion of Yugoslav-Liberian cooperation, especially economic cooperation, and topical international issues and the activities of nonaligned countries.

Also taking part in the talks were Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Silvester Gizbi [as received], deputy minister of international cooperation of the Republic of Liberia; and Radivoje Petrovic, SFRY ambassador to the Republic of Liberia.

Dizdarevic Receives Eastman

LD062001 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0941 GMT 6 Sep 84

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Sep (TANJUG) -- Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, met with Ernest Eastman, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Liberia, this morning. They exchanged views on bilateral cooperation, both sides expressing interest in the promotion and expansion of bilateral cooperation in all the spheres of life.

The Yugoslav and Liberian ministers of foreign affairs also discussed the most important questions of international relations, in particular the crisis flashpoints in Africa, development problems, and the forthcoming activity in the Nonaligned Movement. The meeting took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

DJURANOVIC CONGRATULATES SRV'S TRUONG CHINH

LD020114 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0832 GMT 1 Sep 84

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Sep (TANJUG) -- On the occasion of Vietnam's national holiday Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, has sent on behalf of the SFRY Presidency a telegram to Truong Chinh, chairman of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The telegram expresses cordial congratulations and wishes for the prosperity of the friendly people of that nonaligned country.

VOJVODINA TU COMMISSION VIEWS WORK STOPPAGES

AU051741 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Sep 84 p 6

[S. Nikolic report]

[Text] Novi Sad, 3 Sep -- The Commission for Petitions, Complaints, and for the Protection of the Self-Managing Rights of Workers of the Council of Vojvodina Trade Unions discussed at its session today a report on work stoppages in Vojvodina in the first 6 months of this year. The report was marked "confidential." Lizinka Papic, president of the commission, explained to journalists that only the names of the collectives in which work stoppages occurred are confidential. This was requested by these collectives because they consider a work stoppage a disgrace and shame.

However, there was not any great disgrace or shame. In the past 6 months, only two "strikes" occurred, and this is only half the previous number. In addition, these were not real work stoppages, judging by either the number of participants or their duration. In one case, 15 workers out of 426 employed participated in a work stoppage of 1 hour; while in the other case 11 workers of 410 employed in the same working unit, or rather of 1,538 workers employed in the overall work organization participated in a work stoppage that lasted less than 1 hour.

In both cases, as claimed in the aforementioned report, and confirmed by members of the commission, what was involved was that workers were not informed about the reason for reduced personal incomes.

However, it has remained unclear whose disgrace it is that workers were not informed.